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T H E
L I F E
O F
R O B E R T L o r d C L I V E,
B A R O N P L A S S E Y.

W H E R E I N

Are Impartially delineated his Military Talents in the Field; his
Maxims of Government in the Cabinet, during the two last Wars
in the EAST INDIES,

Which made him ARBITER of EMPIRE, and the richest Subject in
EUROPE.

W I T H

A N E C D O T E S of his P R I V A T E L I F E,

A N D T H E

P A R T I C U L A R C I R C U M S T A N C E S of his D E A T H.

Also a NARRATIVE of all the last TRANSACTIONS in INDIA.

By CHARLES CARRACCIOLI, Gent:

(V O L. IV.)

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by T. BELL, N^o. 26, BELL YARD
TEMPLE-BAR.

1777

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T H E
L I F E
O F
LORD CLIVE, BARON PLASSEY.

THE said right honourable Robert lord Clive, appeared in the said court attended by general John Carnac, Harry Verelst, Hugh Watts, Randolph Marriott, Claud Ruffel, Thomas Rumbold, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelfall, and Charles Floyer, Esqrs. and other covenanted servants, of the honourable company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, and other principal inhabitants of Calcutta aforesaid, and then and there produced a certain deed or writing which is contained in the following words : that is to say,

This Indenture made the first day of October in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the Third, by the grace of God of
Great

Great Britain, France and Ireland; king, defender of the Faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, between the united company's of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, on the one part; and Robert lord Clive, baron Clive of Plassey, in the kingdom of Ireland, president and governor of Fort William, in the kingdom of Bengal, on the other part; witnesseth, that in consideration of the said Robert lord Clive's being president and governor of Fort William, and in consideration of the several sum or sums of money to be received by him, the said Robert lord Clive, in manner following, that is to say: The sum of one and one eight per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, save and except the revenues of the lands of the said united company at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, to be paid unto him in monthly, quarterly, or yearly payments during the time he shall continue president and governor of Fort William aforesaid, and also in consideration of his salary, stated allowances, and commission upon the mint, coral, and upon the freight goods, the said Robert lord Clive, doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree to, and with the said united company and their successors, that the said Robert lord Clive, during the time he shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William aforesaid, shall not directly, nor indirectly, upon any pretence, or pretext, whatsoever, carry on, use, or exercise, any trade or commerce in the way of a merchant, or otherwise, traffic, adventure, or trade,

Trade, in any commodities whatever, at, to, in, or from, the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocha, or in any part thereof, or elsewhere, between the Cape of Good Hope, and the streights of Magellan, either on his own account, or in company with, or for, or on account of any other person or persons, in any article of merchandize whatsoever, (save and except for the benefit of the English East India company, and except in such goods and merchandize as shall be remaining on hand and unfold at the time he, the said Robert lord Clive, commenced president and governor of Fort William, and wherein he now hath any share or interest, which only he shall or may sell, or dispose of, or give commission or directions for selling the same; and further, save and except, and it is the true intent and meaning hereof, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to prevent, preclude, or hinder him the said Robert lord Clive, from purchasing diamonds, or other precious stones, provided he does not dispose of the same by way of barter or sale here, or in any other part of the East Indies, or from sending or remitting his estate or fortune to England, by bills, or in any other shape whatsoever, (nor barter, sell, or exchange any kind of goods, wares, or merchandizes, nor except from, nor give to any person or persons commissions for managing or transacting business, or affairs of merchandize (except as before is excepted) and the said Robert lord Clive, doth hereby further covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said united company and their successors, that the said Robert lord Clive, shall not, nor will himself, nor shall wittingly

wittingly or willingly permit or suffer any other person or persons in his name or to his use to advance, lend, or place out, any sum or sums of money, at a greater rate, premium or interest, than ten per cent. per annum, so that the least interest, share, portion, or dividend, or any other profit, advantage, or emolument whatsoever, shall in respect thereof, exceeding the said premium or interest of ten per cent. per annum, as aforesaid, arise or accrue unto him the said Robert lord Clive, his heirs, executors, administrators, or unto any other persons whatsoever, through friendship, favour, or influence, exerted by him in their behalf, contrary to the true intent and spirit of the oath hereunto annexed : and the said Robert lord Clive, doth hereby further covenant and agree, that he shall not, nor will not, upon any account, or pretence whatsoever, directly or indirectly, except, take, or receive, nor knowingly, wittingly, or willingly suffer or permit to be accepted, taken or received by any person or persons, for his use or in trust for him, his heirs, executors, and administrators, or for any other person or persons whatever, out of personal friendship to them, or regard to his own interest, directly or indirectly, any jewels, effects, sum or sums of money, whether by bonds, bills, notes, obligations, or otherwise, or except of, retain, or keep any fee, gratuity or reward, in jewels, effects, money, obligations or promises, or assurances of money, in writing of any nature or other thing whatsoever, which have been heretofore deposited for services promised to be performed or favours to be received, or which shall hereafter be deposited, lent, received or paid into his

his hands or custody, or into the hands or custody of any other person or persons in trust for him, nor knowingly permit or suffer any other person or persons to receive; take, or accept of the same or any part thereof, by his authority or influence, from any king, prince, vizier, monsubdar, nabob, dewan; fouzdar, zemindar, or from any other person or persons, natural-born subjects of the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocha, of what degree, nomination or quality soever, or from any servant, agent, or council of any king, prince, vizier, monsubdar, nabob, fouzdar or zemindar, exceeding the value or amount specified in the covenants with the said united company : and the said Robert lord Clive doth further covenant and agree, that no other emolument or advantage whatsoever (excepting as herein excepted) shall in any wise howsoever, directly or indirectly, arise or accrue to him, his heirs, executors, or administrators, or to any other person whatsoever, through favour or friendship, either from his office, or for or by reason or means of the influence or authority he may have as president and governor, nor will he the said Robert lord Clive receive, or knowingly permit any other person to receive any fee, gratuity, or advantage, from the disposal of any place, employment or office to any European, or any other person whatever, in or out of the company's service, and in order to a discovery to, and satisfaction for any actings or doings, of the said Robert lord Clive, or breach of covenant, clause, article, or agreement, herein contained contrary, to the true intent and meaning hereof; it is hereby agreed, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said united company and their successors, to exhibit or file any bill

or bills of complaint of discovery in his majesty's court of chancery or exchequer, at Westminster, or by three or more of the council at Fort William, for the time being, on behalf of the said united company, in the honourable the mayor's court, for the town of Calcutta at Fort William aforesaid, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, against him the said Robert lord Clive, his executors, and administrators, whereunto the said Robert lord Clive doth hereby agree, that he will not demur nor plead in bar of the discovery or relief sought by such bill or bills that hereby he is, may, or shall become liable to any penalty in forfeiture, by force of any law or statute, bond, covenant, agreement, or otherwise, howsoever, but shall make and put in full and perfect answer and answers to all the parts thereof, and shall not, in such answer or answers, insist upon any penalty, forfeiture, law or statute, bond, covenant, or agreement, or alledge any matter whatsoever, whereby to prevent, bar, or preclude the said company, or any other person or persons, from the discovery or relief sought, or to be sought by such bill or bills as aforesaid, and for the true, full and faithful performance of every article, clause, promise, covenant and agreement, herein contained, and the true intent and meaning thereof, on the part and behalf of the said Robert lord Clive; he the said Robert lord Clive doth hereby bind and oblige himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, unto the said united company, and their successors in the penal sum of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, of lawful money of Great Britain, to be recovered, in case the said Robert lord Clive shall act contrary to the true intent and meaning of these presents; one
third

third part of the said sum of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, to be paid, and payable unto such person or persons as shall sue for the same, after information and full proof shall be made thereof in the court of chancery, exchequer, or the mayor's court at Calcutta, or before the court of directors of the said united company and their successors. In Witness whereof, the president and council of Fort William, in behalf of the said united East India company, have hereunto set their hands and seal of the said company, on the one part, and the said Robert lord Clive hath set his hand and seal on the other part, this first day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.

CLIVE.

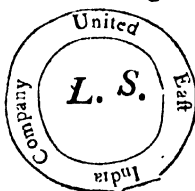
L. S.

Signed, sealed, and delivered, in Calcutta, the day and year above written (where no stamp paper is to be had) in the presence of us,

CLIVE,

H. Verelst,	Randolph Marriott,
H. Watts,	Claud Russell,
Tho. Rumbold,	Wm. Aldersey,
Tho. Kelsall,	Charles Floyer.

Alex. Campbell,
Hen. Strachey,
Will. Wynne,



John Carnac.

And

And at the same time, he the said Robert lord Clive produced a certain affidavit, or oath, in writing, annexed to the before-mentioned deed or writing, which is contained in the following words, that is to say,

In the honourable the mayor's court, for the town
of Calcutta in Bengal.

I Robert lord Clive, president and governor of Fort William in the kingdom of Bengal, in the East Indies, do voluntarily of my own free will and accord, most solemnly and sincerely swear, testify and depose, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will not from this time forward, during my continuance as president or governor of Fort William, directly or indirectly, carry on, use, or exercise, any trade or commerce in the way of a merchant or otherwise traffic, adventure or trade, in any commodities whatsoever, at, to, in, or from the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocha, or any part thereof, or elsewhere, between the Cape of Good Hope, and the streights of Malleglan, either on my own account, or in company with, or on account of any other person or persons, in any article of merchandize whatsoever, save and except for the benefit of the English East India company, and except in such goods and merchandizes as shall be remaining on hand and unfold, at the time I commenced president and governor of Fort William, and wherein I now have any share or interest, which only I shall or may sell or dispose of, or give commissions or directions for selling the same, and further, save and except, and it is the true intent and
meaning

meaning hereof, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to prevent, preclude or hinder me from purchasing diamonds, or other precious stones, provided I do not dispose of the same by way of barter or sale here, or in any other part of the East Indies, or from sending or remitting my estate and fortune to England by bills, or in any other shape whatsoever; and that I will not directly or indirectly, from henceforward, during my continuance as president or governor of Fort William, advance, lend, or place out, nor wittingly or willingly permit or suffer any other person or persons in my name, or to my use, to advance, lend, or place out, any sum or sums of money at any rate, premium, or interest, exceeding ten per cent. per annum, so that the least interest, share, portion, dividend or any other profit, advantage, or emolument whatsoever, shall in respect thereof exceeding the premium or interest of ten per cent. per annum, above-mentioned, arise or accrue unto me, my heirs, executors or administrators, or unto any other person or persons whatsoever through friendship, favour, or influence, exerted by me in their behalf, contrary to the true intent and spirit of this oath.

And I do most solemnly swear, that I will not, upon any account or pretence whatsoever, directly or indirectly accept, take or receive, nor knowingly, wittingly or willingly suffer or permit to be accepted, taken, or received, by any person or persons in trust for me, my heirs, executors, or administrators, or for any other person or persons whatsoever, out of personal friendship to them, or regard to my own interest directly or indirectly,
any

any jewels, effects, sum or sums of money, whether by bonds, bills, notes, obligations, or otherwise or except of, retain, or keep any fee, gratuity, or reward, in jewels, effects, money, or obligations, or promises, or assurances in money-writing of any nature, or other thing whatsoever, which has been heretofore deposited for services promised to be performed, or favours to be received, or which shall hereafter be deposited, lent, received, or paid into my hands or custody, or to any other persons in trust for me, nor knowingly permit or suffer any other person or persons to receive, take, or accept of the same, or any part thereof by my authority or influence, from any king, prince, vizier, monsubdar, nabob, dewan, fouzdar, zemindar, or from any other person or persons, natural-born subjects of the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocha, of what degree, nomination or quality soever, or from any servant or agent, or council of any king, prince, vizier, monsubdar, nabob, dewan, fouzdar, zemindar, exceeding the value or amount specified in our covenants with the said united company; the full intent and meaning of this oath being; and I do most solemnly swear, that my full and true interest and meaning is, that in consideration of the sum of one and one eighth per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, (save and except the revenues of the lands of the said united company at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong,) to be paid to me in monthly, quarterly or yearly payments, during the time I shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William; and likewise in consideration of my salary, stated allowan-

ces

ces and commission upon the mint, coral, and upon freight goods; and ten per cent. interest, or premium, upon any sum or sums of money I shall, or may hereafter lend, advance or place out at interest as before-mentioned, no other emolument or advantage whatsoever, shall in any wise howsoever, directly or indirectly, arise or accrue unto me, my heirs, executors, or administrators, or to any other person whatever, through favour or friendship from me, either from my office, or for, or by reason or means of the influence and authority, I have as president and governor of Fort William.

I further swear, that I will not myself receive, or knowingly permit any other person to receive any fee, gratuity or advantage from the disposal of any place, employment or office, to any European, or any other person whatever, in or out of the company's service, and that I will not in any manner break through, or act in any respect during the time I shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William, contrary to any article, covenant, clause, and agreement contained in, or the true intent and meaning of a certain indenture, bearing date the first day of October, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, and made or mentioned to be made, between the said united company of the one part, and me, Robert lord Clive on the other part, but that I truly and faithfully perform the same.

Sworn in open court at Fort William, in Bengal, the first day of October, in the sixth year of the reign of kind George the third.

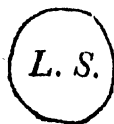
} So help me God.

} Clive.

John Holme, Register.
Where-

Whereupon the said deed or writing, was publicly, audible, and distinctly read over in the said court, and immediately afterwards the said affidavit, or oath in writing was also publicly audible and distinctly read over in the said court, and then and there duly taken; and sworn to by him the said Robert lord Clive.

I John Holme, register of the honourable the mayor's court at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengal in the East Indies, do hereby certify and attest, that the aforegoing writing is a true copy of the proceedings of the said court, holden on Wednesday the first day of October, in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, to see the right honourable Robert lord Clive, president or governor of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, take an oath, or make affidavit in the said court, and execute a deed, or covenant, in a large penalty which are expected and intended to be taken, or sworn to and renewed, or executed by all future governors or presidents of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, and also of the said deed and oath, or affidavit.



L. S.

In faith and testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, (and caused the seal of the said court to be put and affixed) this twentieth day of October, in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.

John Holme, Register;

At

At a select committee, the 16th of January 1767, present, the right honourable lord Clive, president; Harry Verelst, Esq; brigadier general Carnac; Francis Sykes, Esq;

The right honourable the president delivered in the following letter.

To Harry Verelst, Esq; &c. members of the select committee.

Gentlemen,

“ You are not unacquainted with the solicitations I have had the honour to receive from the court of directors, for my continuance in this government another year; nor with the very severe fit of sickness which obliged me to inform them, by the Cruttendin that I had no prospect of recovering health, or even of preserving life, but by an immediate embarkation for my native country. The resolution to leave Bengal, which the judgments of my physician declares, is still absolutely necessary, I should maintain, would give me great concern, were I not fully convinced that the country remains in perfect tranquility, that the prosperity of the company's affairs here is fixed upon a solid permanent basis; and that the gentlemen to whose conduct they are entrusted, (I mean particularly the members of the select committee) will zealously unite to support that plan of government, which by means of their unwearied assistance, I have had the honour to establish. I cannot omit this opportunity

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to express the satisfaction I feel in the reflection, that I am succeeded in the high and important office of governor, by Mr. Verelst : my knowledge of him, is not from the information of others, but from my own observation and experience ; and I am persuaded his utmost endeavours will be used to prove himself, in every respect, worthy the trust reposed in him.

The court of directors, in their letter by the Mercury, seem to have left the continuance, or the abolishing of the select committee, to my determination, together with the forming such regulations as I may judge most for the interest of the company after my departure ; but as I would not exert a power which you may entertain a doubt of my being properly authorised to assume, I request, you will take into consideration the paragraphs relating thereto, and impartially declare your sense of the intentions of the court of directors on this head. If you are of opinion, such authority is lodged with me, the following are the regulations which I purpose to establish.

The expediency of the measure being self-evident, I do not hesitate to pronounce, that the select committee must be continued ; and I hope you will be convinced, that, in the nomination of the members, I have not been guided by friendship or partiality, but by the real merit and abilities of individuals ; they are to stand as follows :

Harry Verelst, Esq. president ;
 John Carter, Esq. Col. Richard Smith.
 Francis Sykes, and Richard Becher, Esqrs.,

But

But as Mr. Becher cannot be expected to arrive in Bengal before the months of July or August; as the present situation of the company's affairs require, that a select committee should be continued without recess or prorogation; and as Colonel Smith and Mr. Sykes must frequently be absent on the duties of their respective appointments, so that only Messrs. Verelst and Carter will remain at the presidency, I nominate Claud Ruffel, Esq. in whose abilities, zeal for the service, and integrity, I have the greatest confidence to fill Mr. Becher's seat in the committee until his arrival; Alexander Campbell, Esq; to have a voice in the absence of Mr. Sykes, or any other member.

This last nomination I think due to a member of the board, acting as our secretary, who has long acted as one such at our particular desire, and whose knowledge of political affairs, necessarily acquire in that station, must, upon many occasions, prove very useful to the committee.

With respect to the regulations of the committee, I have only to add, that Mr. Verelst, the governor, shall have power, upon such occasions as he shall judge necessary, to recall to the presidency, and to their seats, any of the absent members. If any objection be urged to the continuation of Mr. Sykes, I answer, that his situation of resident at the durbar, the perfect knowledge he has acquired of the revenues, and his extreme attention, fidelity, and skill, in the collection, makes it requisite for the public service, that he should remain, though absent a member of the committee.

Personal

Personal merit will not effectually prevail, unless it receives the sanction of ministerial importance; and this committee being justly considered a cabinet of council, wherein the most material political affairs are proposed, digested, and determined upon, it follows, that the resident at the durbar should be honoured with a seat and a vote, when public affairs require his presence in Calcutta.

Justice to M. R. Khawn, the naib dewan, calls upon me to recommend him in the strongest terms to the protection of this committee: his diligence, disinterestedness, and abilities, exceed those of any other musfulman I have yet seen. To him chiefly may be attributed the perfect knowledge we have acquired of the revenues of Bengal and Bahar; and that the collections are increased beyond what they ever produced, without oppressing the inhabitants. Mr. Sykes, with whom he has co-operated with so much zeal for the public good, will, I am sure, justify my recommendation, and confess, that his merit and services entitle him justly to our regard.

It will not, I presume, be improper in this to observe, that you ought not to be very desirous of encroaching the revenues, especially where it can only be effected by oppressing the landholders and tenants: so long as the country remains in peace, the collections will exceed the demands. If you increase the former, a large sum of money will either lay dead in the treasury, or be sent out of the country, and much inconvenience arise in the space of a few years. Every nation trading to the East-Indies have usually imported silver for a return

turn in commodities. The acquisition of the dewannee has rendered this mode of traffic no longer necessary for the English company. Our investments may be furnished, our expences, civil and military, paid, and a large quantity of bullion be annually sent to China, though we import not a single dollar : an increase of revenue, therefore, unless you can in proportion increase your investments, can answer no good purpose, but may in the end prove extremely pernicious ; inasmuch, as it may drain Bengal of its silver, and you will undoubtedly consider, that the exportation of silver beyond the quantity imported, is an evil which, though slow, and perhaps remote in its consequences, will, nevertheless, be fatal to the India company. This point, therefore, I leave to your constant vigilance and deliberation.

To what I have urged in general upon the subject of regulations, I beg leave to add a few words, in relation to one particular point. All the company's servants at the aurungs, all those at the factories, except such as are fixed at the subordinates, and are necessarily employed in the silk business, all free merchants, must be recalled, and their places of residence confined to Calcutta : orders for this purpose have already been issued, and the time for their being obeyed is limited ; herein no consideration whatsoever, scarcely humanity itself, except in a very extraordinary instance, should tempt you to relax ; for be assured, until these regulations take place, the company cannot be properly said to enjoy their just rights and privileges,

leges, nor the natives to be master of their own property.

We have received orders from the court of directors to abolish the salt trade ; these orders must be punctually obeyed. But as I am of opinion that the trade upon its present footing is rather beneficial than injurious to the inhabitants of the country, and that a continuation of this indulgence, or some other equivalent, is become absolutely necessary, and would be an honourable incitement to diligence and zeal in the company's service. I flatter myself the court of directors may be induced to settle some plan that will prove agreeable to your wishes.

(Signed) Clive."

The select committee observing, with the utmost concern, the effects of this climate upon his lordship's constitution, and the impossibility of his remaining longer in the country without imminent danger of his life.

Agreed, That we take into consideration the powers delegated by the honourable court of directors to his lordship, as far as they may relate to the continuing, abolishing, or regulating, the select committee at his departure.

Accordingly the following paragraphs of the honourable company's instruction to the president and council, under the date, the 17th of May, 1766, were read.----" The powers of the committee are to remain in full force during Lord Clive's continuance in Bengal, but the committee shall not be continued after his departure, unless he shall judge it for the interest and benefit of the company."

company." And further, that, "As in course of the important affairs which now come under cognizance of the committee, many unforeseen accidents may arise, Lord Clive shall therefore have permission on his departure from Bengal, to make such regulations in the powers of the committee as he shall judge most for the interest of the company."

It appearing to the committee from the express terms and meaning of the above paragraphs, that the honourable court of directors have vested Lord Clive with the full authority either to abolish the select committee entirely, or at his departure, to continue it under such regulations as he may think most conducive to the service.

It also appearing to them of the last importance to the honourable company's affairs, that the public business should be conducted by the council and the committee, in the manner specified in our proceeding, the 21st of December, 1767.

And it being likewise the unanimous opinion of the committee, that his lordship has made a just and proper selection of the members who are to compose the future committee.

Resolved, that after Lord Clive and General Carnac's departure, the select committee shall consist of five members, agreeable to the honourable company's orders, contained in paragraph 39, of the above-mentioned letter; and that the members shall be the following gentlemen, to stand in order in which they are mentioned, viz.

Harry Verelst, Esq. president. John Cartier, Colonel Richard Smith, Francis Sykes, Esq. and Richard Becher, Esq.

Resolved

Resolved accordingly, that Mr. Cartier shall be immediately called down from Dacca, to take his seat at the board, on the departure of Lord Clive and General Carnac.

Resolved also, for the reasons assigned in his lordship's letter, that Claud Russell, Esq. shall fill Mr. Becher's seat in committee, until that gentleman's arrival; and that Alexander Campbell, Esq. shall have a voice in the committee in the absence of Mr. Sykes, or of any other member.

These appointments, as they are made without friendship or partiality to individuals, we doubt not, will meet with the approbation of our honourable employers, and fully answer the sentiments which we entertain of the zeal and abilities of the several gentlemen to promote the good of the service, and welfare of the public.

And lastly, that the governor shall have power upon such occasions as he may judge necessary, to recal the presidency, and to their seats, any of the absent members of the committee.

It being of the utmost concern to the company's affairs, that men of experience, of abilities, and of integrity, shall alone be admitted to seats in the council: and the committee observing with the deepest regret the unfitness of some, and the youth of others, who stand next in succession, it is hereby resolved, that no vacancies which may arise at the council board shall be filled up, until the further pleasure of the court of directors be known.

The honourable court of directors having, in their letter to the select committee, absolutely prohibited the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco,

tobacco, in any shape, and upon any plan whatsoever :

Resolved, that the society of trade be abolished, and the inland trade totally relinquished, on the 1st day of September next, but that we fully express our sentiments in our next advices to the company, respecting the advantages which would result to the service, and to the company, from the continuance of this trade under the present restrictions.

The right honourable the president, conformable to his restrictive oath, relinquished the five shares to which he is entitled in the capital stock of the society of trade, as well as every other commercial benefit and advantage.

Resolved, that we assign to his lordship, as an equivalent for the same of one, $1 \frac{1}{8}$ upon the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, payment to commence from the 1st day of September last, and to continue until the 1st day of September ensuing, and as Mr. Verelst will have a charge of the government for several months after his lordship's departure, without any established fund for maintaining the expences and dignity of the station.

Resolved, that Mr. Verelst shall, in like manner draw upon the commission of $1 \frac{1}{8}$ upon the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, until the month of September, after he shall have resigned the government.

(Signed)

Clive,
H. Verelst,

John Carnac,
Francis Sykes.

• Vol. IV.

D

Mayor's

16, 774

Mayor's Court at Calcutta, at Fort-William,
in Bengal.

At a court held on Tuesday the 17th day of February, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord, One thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

Present, Thomas Woodward, Esq. Mayor.
Mr. Cornelius Goodwin, Mr. David Killican,
Mr. Matthew Miller, Mr. Tho. French,
Mr. Geo. Lear, Mr. Joseph Jekyll,
Mr. Will. Bolts, Mr. John Reed.
Aldermen.

This being the day appointed for the honourable Harry Verelst, Esq. who now is governor or president of Fort-William, in Bengal, aforesaid, to take an oath, or make an affidavit in the said court, and execute a deed or covenant, in a large penalty, which are expected and intended to be taken or sworn to, and renewed or executed by all future governors and president of Fort-William, in Bengal, aforesaid.

The said honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; appeared in the said court, attended by colonel Richard Smith, Claud Russell, William Aldersley, Thomas Kelfall, Charles Floyer and Alexander Campbell, Esquires, and other covenanted servants of the honourable company of merchants of England,

England, trading to the East Indies, and other principal inhabitants of Calcutta aforesaid, and then and there produced a certain deed or writing which is contained in the following words : that is to say,

“ This Indenture made the seventeenth day of February, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the third, by the grace of God, of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. and in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven,

Between the united company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, on the one part, and Harry Verelst, Esq; president and governor of Fort William, in the kingdom of Bengal, on the other, witnesseth, That in consideration of the said Harry Verelst's being president and governor of Fort William, and in consideration of the several sum and sums of Money to be received by him the said Harry Verelst, in manner following; that is to say, the sum of one and $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, (save and except the revenues of the lands of the said united company at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong,) to be paid him in monthly, quarterly, or yearly payments during the time he shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William, aforesaid, and also in consideration of his salary, stated allowance, and commission on the mint, coral, and upon freight goods, the said Harry Verelst doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree, to, and with the said united company

company and their successors, than the said Harry Verelst, during the time he shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William aforesaid, shall not directly, or indirectly, upon any pretence or pretext whatsoever, carry on, use, or exercise, any trade or commerce in the way of a merchant, or otherwise traffic, adventure or trade in any commodities whatsoever, at, to, in, or from the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocha, or in any part thereof, or elsewhere, between the Cape of Good Hope, and the Streights of Magellan (either on his own account, or in company with, or for, or on account of any other person or persons, in any article of merchandize whatsoever, save and except for the benefit of the English East India company, and except in such goods, concerns, and merchandize, as shall be commenced, remaining in hand unfold at the time he the said Harry Verelst commenced president and governor of Fort William, and wherein he now hath any share or interest, which only he shall or may sell, barter, or dispose of, or give commissions or directions for selling, bartering or disposing of the same, for the conclusion of the said concerns. And further, save and except, and it is the true intent and meaning hereof, that nothing shall extend, or be construed to extend, to prevent, preclude, or hinder him the said Harry Verelst, from purchasing diamonds or other precious stones (provided he does not dispose of the same by way of barter or sale here, or in any other part of the East Indies, or from sending or remitting his estate and fortune to, England by bills, or in any other shape whatsoever,) nor barter, sell, or ex-
change

change any kind of goods, wares, or merchandize, nor except from, nor give to any person or persons commissions for managing or transacting business or affairs of merchandize (except as before is excepted) and the said Harry Verelst doth hereby further covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said united company, and their successors, that the said Harry Verelst, shall not, nor will himself, nor shall wittingly or willingly permit or suffer any other person in his name, or to his use, to advance, lend or place out any sum or sums of money, at a greater rate, premium or interest, than 12 per cent. per annum, so that the least interest, share, portion, or dividend, or any other profit, advantage, or emolument whatsoever, shall in respect thereof, exceeding the said premium, or interest of 12 per cent. per annum, as aforesaid, arise or accrue unto him the said Harry Verelst, his heirs, executors, or administrators, contrary to the true intent and spirit of the oath hereunto annexed. And the said Harry Verelst doth hereby further covenant and agree, that he shall not, nor will not, upon any account or pretence whatsoever, directly or indirectly, accept, take, or receive, nor knowingly, wittingly, or willingly suffer or permit to be accepted, taken, or received, by any person or persons, for his use, or in trust for him, his heirs, executors and administrators, or for any other person or persons whatsoever, out of personal friendship to them, or regard to his own interest, directly or indirectly, any jewels, effects, sum or sums of money, whether by bonds, bills, notes, obligations, or promises of assurance of money in
wri-

writing, of any nature or thing whatsoever, which has been heretofore deposited for services promised to be performed, or favours to be received, or which shall hereafter be deposited, lent, received, or paid into the hands or custody of any other person or persons in trust for him, nor knowingly permit or suffer any other person or persons to receive, take, or accept of the same, or any part thereof by his authority or influence from any king, prince, vizier, monsubdar, nabob, dewan, fouzdar, zemindar, or from any other person or persons, natural-born, subjects of the East-Indies, China, Persia or Mocho, of what degree, denomination or quality soever, or from any servant or agent, or council of any king, prince, vizier, monsubdar, nabob, dewan, fouzdar, or zemindar, exceeding the value or amount specified in the covenants with the said united company ; and the said Harry Verelst doth further covenant and agree, that no other emolument or advantage whatsoever, (accepting as herein excepted) shall in any wise howsoever, directly or indirectly, arise or accrue to him, his heirs, executors or administrators, nor will he the said Harry Verelst, receive or knowingly permit any other person to receive any fee, gratuity, or advantage from the disposal of any place, employment, or office to any European, or any other person whatever, in or out of the company's service, except what has been or shall be established or approved of by the honourable the court of directors, or by the president and council for the time being. And in order, to a discovery to, and satisfaction for any actings or doings of the said

said Harry Verelst's, or breach of any covenant, clause, article, or agreement herein contained, contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof; it is hereby agreed, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said united company and their successors, to exhibit, or file any bill or bills of complaint of discovery in his majesty's court of chancery or exchequer, at Westminster, or by three or more of the council at Fort William for the time being, on behalf of the said united company, in the honourable mayor's court for the town of Calcutta at Fort William aforesaid, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, against him the said Harry Verelst, his executors, or administrators, whereunto the said Harry Verelst, doth hereby agree, that he will not demur nor plead in bar of the discovery or relief sought by such bill or bills that hereby he is, may, or shall become liable to any penalty or forfeiture, by force of any law or statute, bond, covenant, agreement, or otherwise howsoever, but shall make and put in a full and perfect answer and answers to all the parts thereof, and shall not, in such answer or answers, insist upon any penalty, forfeiture, law or statute, bond, covenant or agreement; or alledge any matter whatsoever, whereby to prevent, bar, or preclude the said company, or any other person or persons, from the discovery or relief sought, or to be sought, by such bill or bills as aforesaid, and for the true, full, and faithful performance of every article, clause, covenant, promise, and agreement, herein contained, and the true intent and meaning thereof, on the part and behalf of the said Harry Verelst;

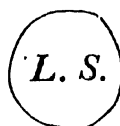
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he the said Harry Verelst doth hereby bind and oblige himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, unto the said united company, and their successors, in the penal sum of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, to be recovered, in case the said Harry Verelst shall act contrary to the true intent and meaning of these presents, one third part of the said sum of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling to be paid, and be payable to such person or persons as shall sue for the same, after information and full proof shall be made thereof in the court of chancery, exchequer, or the mayor's court at Calcutta, or before the court of directors of the said united company and their successors, or before the council of Fort William aforesaid, and the remaining two third parts thereof, shall be paid to and for the use of the said united company and their successors.

In witness whereof, the president and council of Fort William, in behalf of the said united East India company, have hereunto set their hands and the seal of the said company, on the one part, and the said Harry Verelst has set his hand and seal on the other part, this seventeenth day of February, in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven. Provided always, and it is hereby understood and provided, That if any orders or directions should arise from the honourable the court of directors relative to any appointments, for the support, maintenance, and emoluments of the president, and governor of Fort William, which the said president may prefer to the consideration

deration specified in this indenture, and the oath annexed, shall be void and of none effect.

H. Verelst.

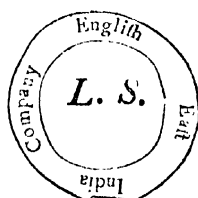


Signed, sealed, and delivered, in Calcutta, the day and year above written (where no stamp paper is to be had) in the presence of us,

H. Verelst,
Claud Ruffel,
Tho. Kelfall,
Alex. Campbell.

Richard Smith,
Wm. Aldersey,
Charles Floyer,

Semion Drox
William Wynne,
Gerd. Gust. Ducarel.



At which time it was declared by the said Harry Verelst, on his part, and the president and council then present, on the behalf of the honourable East India company, that though no time is mentioned in the said indenture for filing a bill of discovery, or commencing any other prosecution against the said Harry Verelst for breach of any of the covenants

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herein contained, yet it is intended and understood, and hereby declared and agreed by the said president and council, and it is the true intent and meaning of the said deed, that no such bill shall be filed, or prosecution commenced, against the said Harry Verelst, for the purposes aforesaid, unless the same shall be filed or commenced within three years next after the said Harry Verelst shall resign or quit the presidency of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid: and at the same time, he the said Harry Verelst produced a certain affidavit or oath in writing, annexed to the before-mentioned deed or writing, which is contained in the following words: that is to say, 16,774

I, Harry Verelst, president and governor of Fort William in the kingdom of Bengal, in the East Indies, do voluntarily of my own free will and accord, most solemnly and sincerely swear, testify and depose, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will not, from this time forward, during my continuance as president and governor of Fort William, directly, or indirectly, carry or use, or exercise any trade or commerce in the way of a merchant, or otherwise traffic, adventure, or trade in any commodities whatsoever, at, to, in, or from the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocha, or in any part thereof, or elsewhere, between the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan, either on my own account, or in company with, or on account of any other person or persons, in any article of merchandize whatsoever, save and except for the benefit of the English East India company, and except in such goods, concerns, and
merchan-

merchandizes, as shall be remaining in hand and unfold at the time I commenced president and governor of Fort William, and whereas I now have no share or interest, which only I shall or may sell, barter, dispose of, or give commissions or directions for selling, bartering, or disposing of the same for the conclusion of the said concerns. And further, save and except, and it is the true intent and meaning hereof, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to prevent, preclude, or hinder me from purchasing diamonds, or other precious stones, provided I do not dispose of the same by way of barter or sale here, or in any other part of the East Indies, or from sending or remitting my estate and fortune to England by bills, or in any other shape whatsoever: and that I will not directly or indirectly, from henceforward, during my continuance as president and governor of Fort William, advance, lend, or place out, nor wittingly or willingly permit or suffer any other person or persons, in my name, or to my use, to advance, lend, or place out, any sum or sums of money, at any rate, premium or interest, exceeding twelve per cent. per annum, so that the least interest, share, portion, dividend, or any other profit, advantage, or emolument whatsoever, shall in respect thereof, exceeding the premium or interest of twelve per cent. per annum, above-mentioned, arise, or accrue unto me, my heirs, executors, or administrators, contrary to the true intent and spirit of this oath: And I do most solemnly swear, that I will not, upon any account or pretence whatsoever, directly or indirectly accept, take, or receive, nor knowingly, wittingly or willingly suffer
or

or permit to be accepted, taken, or received, by any person or persons, in trust for me, my heirs, executors, or administrators, for any other person or persons whatever, out of personal friendship to them, or regard to my own interest, directly or indirectly, any jewels, effects, sum or sums of money, whether by bonds, bills, notes, obligations, or promises, or assurances of money in writing of any nature or other thing whatsoever, which has been heretofore deposited for services promised to be performed, or favours to be received, or which shall hereafter be deposited, lent, received, or paid into my hands or custody, or to any other persons in trust for me; nor knowingly permit or suffer any other person or persons to receive, take, or except of the same, or any part thereof by my authority or influence, from any king, prince, vizier, monsubdar, nabob, dewan, fouzdar, or zemindar, or from any other person or persons, natural-born subjects of the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocho, of what degree, nomination, or quality soever, or from any servant, agent, or council of any king, prince, vizier, monsubdar, nabob, dewan, fouzdar, or zemindar, exceeding the value or amount specified in our covenants with the said united company, the full intent and meaning of this oath being, and I do most solemnly swear, that my full, true intent and meaning is, that in consideration of the sum of one and one-eighth per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, (save and except the revenues of the lands of the said united company at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong).

to

to be paid to me in monthly, quarterly, or yearly payments, during the time I shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William, and likewise in consideration of my salary, stated allowance, and commission upon the mint, coral, and upon the freight goods, and twelve per cent. interest upon any sum or sums of money I shall, or may hereafter lend, advance, or place out at interest as before-mentioned, no other emolument or advantage whatsoever shall, in any wise howsoever, directly or indirectly arise or accrue unto me, my heirs, executors, or administrators during the time I remain president and governor of Fort William, without the consent and approbation of the honourable the court of directors, or the president and council for the time being. I further swear, that I will not myself receive, or knowingly permit any other person to receive any fee, gratuity or advantage, from the disposal of any place, employment, or office, to any European, or any other person whatever, in or out of the company's service, except what has been or shall be established or approved of by the honourable the court of directors, or by the president and council for the time being; and that I will not in any manner break through, or act in any respect during the time I shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William, contrary to any article, covenant, clause, promise and agreement, contained in, or the true intent and meaning of, a certain indenture bearing date this seventeenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, and made or mentioned to be made between the said united company of the one part, and me, Harry Verelst on the other part ;

but

but that I will truly and faithfully perform the same, provided always, and it is hereby understood and provided, that if any orders or directions shall arrive from the honourable the court of directors relative to any appointments for the support, maintenance and emoluments of the president and governor of Fort William, which the said president may prefer to the considerations specified in this oath, that then, and in such case, the above oath and indenture shall be void and of none effect.

So help me God.

H. Verelst.

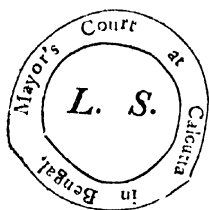
Sworn in the court this seventeenth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

John Holme, register.

Whereupon the said deed or writing was publicly, audibly, and distinctly, read over in the said court, and immediately afterwards the said affidavit or oath in writing was also publicly, audibly and distinctly read over in the said court, and then and there duly taken and sworn to by him the said Harry Verelst.

“ I John Holme, register of the honourable the mayor's court at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengal, in the East Indies, do hereby certify and attest, that the foregoing writing is a true copy of the proceeding of the said court, held on Tuesday
the

the seventeenth day of February, in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, to see the honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president or governor of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, take an oath, or made an affidavit in the said court, and execute a deed or covenant in a large penalty, which are expected and intended to be taken or sworn to, and renewed or executed by all future governors or presidents of Fort William in Bengal, aforesaid, and also of the said deed, oath and affidavit.



In faith and testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the said court to be hereunto put and affixed, this twenty-third day of March, in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

John Holme, register.

Extract of the company's general letter to Bengal, dated the twentieth of November, 1767.

" We have taken your plan for conducting the salt trade, as contained in your proceedings of the eighth of September 1766, into our most serious consideration, and having revised all that we and you have wrote on the subject of the inland trade in general, and of salt in particular, we are the more convinced

vinced of the absolute necessity of excluding all persons whatsoever, excepting the natives only, from being concerned therein; and we accordingly hereby ratify and confirm the orders we gave in our letters of the 19th of February, and the seventeenth of May, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six; that no company's servant, free-merchant, or any European, shall in any mode or shape whatsoever, either by themselves or agents, directly or indirectly, trade in, or be concerned in an inland trade, in salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, or in any other articles produced and consumed in the country, and such trade is hereby abolished and put a final end to, agreeable to our before-mentioned orders: any further, if any of the before-mentioned shall, directly or indirectly, carry on, or be concerned in such inland trade, or in farming the callaries, or making salts; if a company's servant he is to be immediately dismissed the company's service, and from all others the company's protection is to be forthwith withdrawn.

Having thus prohibited our servants from being concerned in the inland trade, the allowance of one one-eighth per cent. commission on the dewannee revenues, settled by you on the governor, for relinquishing all share in the salt trade, is absolutely to determine and cease upon the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

Past experience has so impressed us with ideas of the necessity of confining our servants and Europeans residing under our protection, within the ancient limits of our export and import trade, that we
look

look on every innovation in the inland trade, as an intrusion on the natural right of the natives of the country, who now more particularly claim our protection ; and we esteem it as much our duty to maintain this barrier between the two commercial rights, as to defend the provinces from foreign invasions.

Our principal object being the ease and conveniences of the natives, we have considered in what manner the important trade in salt can be carried on, so as to supply the whole country with this material necessary of life, on the easiest terms, and the least liable to oppression.

For this purpose we direct, that the salt trade be laid open to the natives in general, under the following regulations, viz. That all the callaries or salt-pans within the company's jurisdiction in the Calcutta, Pergunnah's and the company's lands, and the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong, be put up to public sale, at their respective capitals, and sold to the best bidder, five callaries in each lot, and that no one person be allowed to take more than thirty lots, which we judge will enable him to make about forty-five thousand or fifty thousand buzar maunds of salt in the year, and that two months notice be given all over the country before the sale begin, and all Europeans are hereby expressly prohibited from being bidders at such sales, or holding any of the salt-works in their hands, either directly or indirectly.

If there are any callaries under the jurisdiction of the nabob's government, the same method is to be recommended to the administration at Murshadabad.

It is represented to us, that the salt made in every part of the country, except what is necessary for the consumption of the districts where it is produced, should be carried to, and landed at, Razar Barney, and the creek, or small river, opposite to Barnassore, and the people of the country to make their purchases there, and pay a duty on all salt carried from thence, at such rate as will, upon the nearest estimation you can possibly make, produce to the revenue one hundred thousand pounds at least, and not exceeding one hundred and twenty thousand per annum. The amount being in this manner ascertained, it will be easy to settle how many sicca rupees per hundred buzar maunds it will amount to, and the duty is to be rated accordingly ; could we from any of your registers have learned what quantity of salt is made and consumed in the country, we might then have had sufficient grounds to have proceeded on, to settle in this letter with precision, the duty ; but not having such informations, we must leave it to you, to cause it to be adjusted in the before-mentioned manner.

If besides the above, there are any other places by which salt may pass up the country in any of the provinces : you are to conform to the intention of this order with respect to such places.

That on payment of the above duty to the country collectors, the purchaser is to receive a duffuck to carry his salt to any part of the country he chooses, free from all other duties ; the like duty is to be levied on all salt carried by land through the patchet passes from the countries of Burdwan, Midnapore, and other places.

The

The collecting the said duty, we conceive, will fall under the orders of the government of Murshadabad, and it will be accounted for in the revenues of the dewannee.

That all makers of salt be obliged to deliver every year an account of the quantity of salt they have made, and at what places the same has been landed, which must appear upon the face of your proceedings.

If any boats are found smuggling of salt, the same to be confiscated to the government, boat and salt, which will prevent the owners of the boats from receiving any salt that has not paid the duty, and that notice of the same be published all over the country.

That all foreign salt landed in Bengal pay the before-mentioned duty, or more, if it should be found necessary, for the encouragement of the manufactures in Bengal.

To prevent all abuses of the English influence, we think it proper to enjoin, and the same is accordingly to be made known in the most public manner, that any boat, having salt on board, hoisting English colours, or pretending to an English duffuck, shall be liable to confiscation, together with the cargo, and the nabob's ministers will seize the same, as forfeited to the government.

Having established these regulations for the salt trade, we now confirm our orders for the prohibition of our servants engaging in all other inland trade, in articles produced and consumed in the country, save only such articles as are for exportation by shipping to a foreign market, which will be intitled to an English duffuck, as part of the export

port trade within the intention of the firmaund ; and here we remark with some surprize in the committees proceedings of the 22d of October, that beetle-nut and tobacco are among those articles, which is contrary to the spirit of the firmaund, and the tenor of our orders.

The duties to be collected on the other inland trade will fall under the direction of the administration at Murshadabad, in which you will recommend the same intention to the good of the natives, as we have in these regulations for the salt trade.

We hope this freedom of trade will be the means of keeping salt at a low price, but if ever it should be sold at the places we have limited, at, or above one hundred and forty sicca rupees, for one hundred buzard maunds, including the duty, we shall esteem it too high a price for the natives to pay ; and we do expect, that under your influence, and that of the Murshadabad administration, the price never exceeds one hundred and forty sicca rupees, unless in the case of some general calamity ; for we had rather the duty should be diminished, than salt should exceed that price.

As the trade of our servants is to be confined to the articles of import and export only, in which they will be considerably affected by the great demands for extending the company's investments, and considering the great increase of business, in which our principal servants are necessarily engaged, and which demands their utmost care and attention, we are come to a resolution to give them a reasonable encouragement to exert themselves with zeal and alacrity in their several departments, but which they are to look upon as a free gift from the
hand

hand of their employers, offered to them annually, so long as the present revenues shall remain with the company, and their behaviour shall continue to merit such a reward.

That you draw out an annual account of the sums received from the dewannee, deducting thereout the stipulated payments to the king and the nabob, and the allowances to the nabob's ministers; also of the revenues of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong, and the Calcutta pergunnahs, from which are to be deducted lord Clive's jaghire, and the ordinary charges of collecting.

Upon the amount of the said net revenues you are hereby indulged to draw a commission of two and an half per cent.

The sum which shall be the produce of the said two and one half per cent. is to be divided into one hundred parts or shares, which parts or shares are to be appropriated in the following manner, viz.

The governor is to have thirty-one shares.

The second in council, four and a half ditto.

The rest of the select committee, not having a chief ship, each three and a half ditto.

The rest of the council not having a chief ship, each one and a half ditto.

For it is our meaning and direction, that the chiefs of Cossimbuzar, Patna, Decca, and Chittagong, are not to have any proportion of the said shares.

Being convinced that the employ of resident at the durbar and chief of Cossimbuzer cannot from the importance and extent of the business of each depart-

department be properly executed by one person, we therefore direct that they be from this time forward separated, and that some other members of the council be appointed to the said chiefship. We do not make this regulation from any failure of attention on the part of Mr. Sykes, with whose conduct we are perfectly satisfied.

And in consideration of the extraordinary trouble and attention which the resident at the durbar, must necessarily have in the due execution of that important post ; we direct that he be allowed four shares and an half ; but this is to be understood to be in full, and instead of such shares as are assigned, as above-mentioned, to his rank in council, or as member of the select committee.

The large proportion allotted to the governor in the before-mentioned commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is in consideration of his relinquishing, and not being concerned in any trade whatever, even in articles of import and export ; and all present or other gratifications as expressed in the deed of renunciation in your proceedings of the 22d of September 1766, which were approved and confirmed, and directed, that all governors do execute the like instrument on their entering into their office, our inducement for annexing so great an appointment to the station of president and governor, is in full expectation of his giving up his whole time and attention to the faithful discharge of his duty, and that being excluded from all trade himself, he may, and we accordingly depend, that he be vigilant in watching and detecting all abuses committed by others.

You

You are to observe, that the shares of the commission here specified for the governor is additional to his present salary of three thousand pounds per annum, and his mint duty and consulage, and the shares to the other servants, are to be an addition to their present appointments of salary, diet, money, and the posts they may respectively hold, excepting the chiefships, as before excepted ;

We have now to add, and we accordingly direct, that the before-mentioned commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. do commence from the first day of September 1767, but as we have before ordered that the allowance made to the governor of one and one eighth per cent. on the dewannee revenues is absolutely to determine and cease on that day ; We further direct, that from the said first day of September last, from the time of the arrival of these advices, an allowance of one and one-eighth per cent. on the company's nett territorial revenues be made to the governor, and that then the sum arising from the remaining one and three-eighth per cent. (which compleats the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. commission) be proportionated among our principal servants civil and military, pro rata, according to the respective shares allotted them by our present appointment ; and you are to take notice, that from and after your receiving these dispatches, the amount of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. commission, to be appropriated in the manner before directed.

From an estimate we have made of the amount and distribution of the commission of the before-mentioned $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. we find that a considerable sum will still remain unappropriated.

This

This surplus is to be carried to the company's credit, under the head of unappropriated commission, until you shall receive further orders from us, concerning the disposition of it.

Extract of the general letter to Bengal, dated the
16th of March 1768.

It being reasonable that our civil and military servants, under the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, should, in some degree, be put on a similar footing with your's, to encourage them likewise to exert their utmost endeavours to serve the company with zeal and alacrity, in the present extensive and important situation of their affairs, we have constituted an annual fund of sixty thousand current pagodas for that purpose, arising out of the territorial revenues at Fort St. George; but as there is no resource of that kind at Bombay, the fund for that presidency must arise from our revenues in Bengal; we have therefore directed them to draw upon you for one lack, and one third of Bengal current rupees annually, so long as the company shall be possessed of the dewannee revenues, and you are accordingly punctually to comply with the said drafts, which said sum is to be proportioned out among your civil and military servants at that presidency, upon a plan somewhat similar to that settled for Bengal.

In our letter of the 20th of November, we settled the salary and allowance for president Verelst, and every future governor of Bengal; and you are acquainted that the large share then allotted him of the commission on the revenues, was in consideration,

tion of his relinquishing being concerned in every kind of trade whatever ; and all presents and other gratifications, as specified in the deed of renunciation entered on your consultations the 22d of September 1766, which we directed should be executed by your future governor's.

We have since, upon our mature consideration of the said deed, caused a more proper instrument to be prepared for the same purpose, and now transmit copies thereof, that the same may be engrossed and duly executed by Mr. Verelst immediately, and by every future governor, on his succeeding to that station, the governor is to execute this deed in triplicate, two of which are to be sent to us by different ships, and the third kept by you in your treasure chest, that they may be ready to be made use of, either by us or you, if necessary.

Extract of the general letter from Bengal, dated the 2d of February, 1769.

When the importance of this government is considered, by the interests that yourselves and the nation have in its prosperity, every mode of support that can be given for its stability, ought fully and impartially to be discussed ; an uniformity of conduct, a proper support in the executive power, and an inequality in the distribution of rewards diffused among the several members who compose your board in general, promise best to secure that harmony, so essential to give weight to its resolutions, and preserve that respect by which government is to be maintained.

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When

When public gratifications are made, they are supposed to be marks for distinguished merit, or pre-eminence of station; and when no particular acts of former are assigned, they will always be considered in the latter point of view: As such, honourable sirs, we could wish that in appropriating the shares of your indulgence from the revenues, you had not excluded the chiefs of the subordinates, restricted in trade, as they, as well as all your servants, have been by your late directions; they share a burthen of the public duty equally with those who you have indulged, without any superior benefits. This hath been remonstrated to us by Mr. Rumbold, in his letter, entered in this day's conclusion, and hath induced us, until your pleasure is known, to allow them, restricted under security, to refund, should it not meet your approbation, the same proportion of your indulgence as you have prescribed for the members of the council.

From the above reasons it is, we wish, that the council, being the immediate directors of every department, both civil and military, hath stood distinguished in your gratifications above every other; not from any particular motive or desire to promote their own interest, and diminish the share of others, but to preserve that degree of rank and pre-eminence of station, in which you yourselves have placed them: The instances we would refer to are,

A colonel you have indulged with $2\frac{1}{2}$ shares.

A member of the board and a lieutenant colonel, with $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares.

The

The additional share allowed to Mr. Rumbold, was granted to him on consideration of the additional trouble and attention he has as supervisor of the Bahar collections, which bears a near proportion to the allowance you have been pleased to make to the resident at the durbar, from a similar consideration.

An account of the commissions arising on the net revenues from the 1st of September, 1767, to the 1st of September, 1768, goes a number in the packet, and the distribution thereof, we flatter ourselves, you will find has been made conformable to your several orders : the balance of rupees 13,603 : 10 : 11, being the unappropriated commission we had, prior to our resolution respecting the chiefs of subordinates, who are members of your council, directed to be carried to that head on your general books ; but, as this balance will be insufficient to answer that purpose, we shall be under the necessity of accounting for the difference out of the present growing unappropriated commission, and which we hope will meet with your approbation : and permit us here, gentlemen, to return you our warmest thanks for your bounty and kind consideration of us in this instance.

Extract of the general letter to Bengal, dated the 23d of March, 1770.

“ We have received by the Salisbury, an account of the commission of the dewannee revenues of Bengal and Bahar, and those under your collector-general, from the 1st of September, 1767, to the 31st of August, 1768 ; and by the Shrewsbury, a like account of the subsequent half-year, taken on an average of the revenues of the former. The
net

nett receipts being there stated in general articles, would alone have rendered your account unsatisfactory to us, as we expected to see the receipts of your several revenues distinctly specified : We therefore direct, that either separate or connected with your future accounts of commissions, you send us a full and particular state of the receipts of the revenues of Murshadabad and Bahar, with those of the districts and provinces on which such commission is drawn, exhibiting at the same time the several charges and deductions to which the respective revenues are subject, the whole corresponding with the period of your statements.

And being now to consider the shares you have thought fit to allow, in addition to those appointed by our orders of the 20th of November 1767 ; we see with astonishment such an infraction of those orders, and such an abuse of our generosity, as appears in the distribution made by your president and council, of any part of the surplus arising from the unappropriated shares of this commission, which surplus we consider as a fund which would have admitted of our extending to our principal servants at Bombay, a share of that favour we had shewn to those of your presidency : And we accordingly directed you to remit to them the amount of one and one-third lack of current rupees.

But by your advices, as well as your accounts of commission, we find, that, contrary to our orders respecting the distribution of this commission, so fully and expressly set forth in our letter before-mentioned, you have taken upon yourselves to dispose of a great of the unappropriated shares, in the following manner :

To

	Shares
To the chief of Patna and superintendants of the Bahar revenues - - -	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
To the chief of Cassimbuzar - - -	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
To the chief of Decca - - -	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
To the surgeons of the army and your presidency, each three-fourths.	

As this distribution has been made in violation of our said orders, we hereby require and direct, that such of you as were at that time members of our council, and the representatives and attornies of such others as may be returned to England, do, in your separate capacities, forthwith pay into our treasury, in Bengal, the amount of the several sums paid by you as a share, or shares, of this commission, to any person, either as a superintendant of the Bahar revenues, as chief of either of the factories of Decca, of Patna, Cassimbuzar, or Chittagong, as surgeon of the army, or of your presidency, or to any other person who may have received a share to which he was not entitled by our appointment; under which description we consider Mr. Charlton, who received a share as member of council, for nine months before his admission to a seat at that board, the amount of which you must forthwith pay as here directed.

As to any bonds, or other security which you may have taken for the repayment of such shares as might not be approved of by us, it rests wholly with yourselves to take such measures as you may think fit for the recovery of the amount of any sums paid without our authority; for we hereby renounce

renounce and disclaim any act you may have done in opposition to our particular directions, in respect to this commission, and from such breach of your duty we hold you responsible for every undue payment.

At a Select Committee, the 18th of September,
1765. Present
The Right Hon. Lord Clive, president, &c.

Resuming the consideration of the plan for carrying on the inland trade, in order to determine with respect to the company and the classes of proprietors, the committee are unanimously of opinion, That whatever surplus monies the company may find themselves possessed of, after discharging their several demands at this presidency, the same will be employed more to their benefit and advantage, in supplying largely that valuable branch of their commerce, the China trade, and assilling the want of their other settlements; and that it will be more for their interest to be considered as superiors of this trade, and receive a handsome duty upon it, than to be engaged as proprietors in the stock. Bestowing, therefore, all due attention to the circumstances of the company's being at the same time the head and masters of our service, and now come into the place of the country government by his majesty's royal grant of the dewannee, it is agreed, that the inland trade in the above articles shall be subject to a duty to the company, after the following rates, which are calculated, according to the best judgment we can form of the value of the trade in general,

neral, and the advantage which may be expected to accrue from it to the proprietors.

On salt, 35 per cent. valuing the 101 maunds at the rate of 90 rupees, and in consideration hereof, the present balance duty to be abolished.

On beetle-nut 10 per cent. on the prime cost.

On tobacco, 25 per cent. on ditto.

By this calculation we hope, may be produced a clear revenue to the company of at least 100,000 pounds sterling, per annum. and should it appear upon further experience of the trade, that the profits will admit of an increase of these rates of duties, we hereby resolve, that a fair and impartial representation of the same shall be made to our honourable masters, in order to receive their directions, as it is our fixed determination to render them all possible satisfaction in this point.

With respect to the proprietors, it is agreed and resolved, that they shall be arranged into three classes ; that each class shall be intitled to so many shares in the stocks, and that a certain capital stock shall be agreed upon in order to ascertain the value of each share.

According to the scheme, it is agreed, that class first shall consist of the governor, five shares ; the second, three shares ; the general, three shares ; ten gentlemen of council, each two shares, twenty shares ; two colonels, each two shares, four shares ; in all thirty-five shares for the first class.

That class second shall consist of one chaplain, fourteen junior merchants, and three lieutenant-colonels ; in all, eighteen persons, who shall each be entitled to one third of a counsellor's proportion,

tion, or two thirds of one share ; and which makes in all twelve shares for the second class. We mean always to include in this number such junior merchants as the company have thought proper to fix in the service ; who, as well as the factors in the next class that may be restrained from rising as covenant servants, shall however be entitled to their full share of the advantage of this trade.

That class third shall consist of thirteen factors, four majors, four first surgeons at the presidency, two first surgeons at the army, one secretary to the council, one sub-accomptant, one Persian translator, and one sub-export warehouse-keeper ; in all twenty-seven persons who shall each be entitled to one sixth of a counsellor's proportion, or one third of one share ; and which makes in all eight shares for the third class.

It is necessary however to be observed, that by this arrangement it is intended, and it is accordingly hereby

Ordered, That twelve shares in this trade shall be allotted to eighteen persons, composed of the first senior and junior merchants, lieutenants, colonels, and chaplain or chaplains, all exceeding that number of those ranks, must stand excluded until they can be included in it ; and chaplains, be they more or less, to be reckoned only as one senior or junior merchant.

That eight shares in this trade shall, in like manner, always be allotted to twenty-four persons, composed of the senior factors, majors, surgeons, and the three officers above specified ; all exceeding that number of those ranks, are not to share till they can be included in it.

The

The committee have thus settled the arrangement of the classes, and the shares in the stocks ; but they leave to the committee of trade to ascertain the amount of the capital, as they must be the most competent judges of what fund will be required.

That the trade may meet with no interruption, and for the better regulating the same, the committee of trade may from time to time, from bye laws, which have been communicated, approved and signed to, by the body of proprietors, they (the committee) shall be empowered to enforce and carry into execution.

That the books of the society shall be opened the first of every September, and closed the 31st the following August : that for the present year all persons who shall for this time be deemed proprietors, and whose names shall be inrolled by the committee of trade, agreeable to this scheme of distribution, shall be intitled to their proportion of profits arising unto the trade during the course of the year, whether absence, or death should ensue, and so in all future years, after the names of the persons who may compose the classes shall have been regularly inrolled.

Resolved, That no person shall share in a double capacity, and receive a benefit at the same time from his rank in the service, and also from such employment as he may happen to enjoy.

Ordered, that a copy of these proceedings be prepared and laid before the council, that they may transmit the same, with their directions, to the committee of trade.

(Signed) Clive, &c.

Extract of Bengal general consultations, 25th September, 1765.

The right honourable lord Clive, president, &c.

“ The president lays before the board a copy of the proceedings of the select committee, containing their conclusion of the plan for the inland trade with respect to the company, and the different classes of the proprietors. And,

The same have been perused, agreed it be transmitted to the committee of trade, with instructions to proceed agreeably thereto.

(Signed) Clive,” &c.

At a general court held on Friday the 18th of May, 1764.

Resolved,

“ That it be recommended to the court of directors to consider the orders sent to Bengal relative to the trade of the company’s servants in the article of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and that they do give such directions for regulating the same, agreeably to the interests of the company and the subah, as to them may appear most prudent, either by settling, here at home, the restrictions under which this trade ought to be carried on, or by referring it to the governor or council of Fort William, to regulate this important point, in such a manner as may prevent all future disputes betwixt the subah and the company.

Attested by P. Michell, Secretary.”

At

At a select committee the 10th of August, 1765,
at Fort William.

Present.

William Brightwell Sumner, Esq; president, Harry Verelst, Esq;

In conformity to the honourable company's orders, contained in their letter of the 1st of June, 1764, the committee now proceeds to take into their consideration the subject of the inland trade, in the articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, the same having been frequently discoursed of at former meetings, and Mr. Sumner having lately collected the opinions of the absent members at large, on every circumstance.

It is agreed and resolved, that the following plan for conducting this trade shall be carried into execution, the committee esteeming the same most correspondent with the company's orders, and conducive to the ends which they have in view, when they require that the trade shall be put upon such a footing as may appear most equitable for the benefit of their servants, least liable to produce disputes with the country government, and wherein their own interest, and that of the nabol, shall at the same time be properly attended to, and considered.

That the whole trade shall be carried on by an exclusive company, formed for that purpose, and consisting of all those who may be deemed justly intitled to share. That a proper fund shall be raised by a loan at interest, for the supply and the support

support of the same ; and that it shall commence in the month of September ensuing, or as soon after as may be found most convenient.

That all salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, produced in, or imported into Bengal, shall be purchased by this established company, and public advertisements shall be issued, strictly prohibiting all other persons whatever, who are dependants on our government, to deal in those articles.

That application shall be made to the nabob to issue the like prohibition to all his officers and subjects of the district where any quantity of either of those articles is manufactured or produced.

That the salt shall be purchased by contract, on the most reasonable terms, giving the preference to the factories of Decca, Chittagong, Burdwan, and Midnapore, for the produce of their respective districts, to the fowzdar of Houghley, and the other zemindars, for the produce of ingellee, tumlook, mysidole, &c. and to such persons as may offer the most reasonable proposal, for the quantity produced in Calcutta lands.

That the beetle-nut and tobacco shall in the like manner be purchased by contract, under such terms and conditions as, upon proper inquiry, shall appear to the managers to be the most conformable to the interest concerned.

That the contractors for the said oath shall agree to deliver it at certain fixed places at a stipulated per maunds, comprehending such advance upon their contracts with the zemindars and molungees, as may be esteemed an equivalent to their risk, trouble, and bad debts.

That

That as the advance will be made by the contractors to the zemindars, &c. at a certain period of the season, in the usual manner, so shall the advance from the public company to the contractors be made in proportion thereto.

That the salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, there purchased by the public company, shall be transported to a certain number of places for sale, to be there, and there only, disposed of by their agents; and that the country merchants may then become purchasers, and again transport the articles whither they think they have the greatest prospect of profit; and by this means, not only the frequent oppression the inhabitants of the country have suffered by Europeans having permission to traverse to every place, for the sale of those commodities, will be put a stop to; but by thus reserving the natives and merchants a competent share of the profits, both in the purchase and sale, we may hope for the good effect of removing the general odium that has prevailed, from our seeking to deprive them of every part of that trade.

That as it is apprehended some difficulty will arise in securing the produce of the Decca, and Chittagong districts, by reason of the property of the lands being scattered in a number of hands, all dependent on the government; it is agreed, That application shall be made to the nabob for perwannahs on the several zemindars of those districts, as well as those of Houghley, &c. strictly ordering and requiring them to contract for all the salt that can be made on their lands with the English alone, and forbidding the sale to any other person or persons whatsoever.

That

That the honourable company shall either share in this trade as proprietors, or receive an annual duty upon it, as may appear to be most for their interest, when considered with their other engagement and demands at this presidency.

That the nabob shall in like manner be considered, as may be judged most proper, either as a proprietor, or by annual nuzzaranna to be computed upon inspecting a statement of his duties on salt in former years.

That the manner in which the honourable company and the nabob shall be considered, being once determined, the remainder of this trade shall be divided amongst the company's servants, arranged under certain classes, and each class to share a certain proportion of the capital stock.

That a committee of trade shall be appointed to receive the management of this plan, and prosecute the same in all its branches; that they shall be immediately authorised to take measures for raising the fund at interest, and to receive proposals, and settle the contracts: and further, that for their assistance in this work, a person shall be appointed in the quality of their secretary and accountant.

The foregoing regulation, the select committee judge, will be found a sufficient ground-work for commencing this trade, to be improved hereafter, as circumstances may occur and direct: and it is therefore agreed,

That they be delivered over to the committee of trade, as soon as they are appointed, with instructions to proceed in raising the money, and making the contracts.

The

The points contained in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth regulations, as their not being justified, need be no impediment to the prosecution of this business, so the committee deem them of so much importance, that the settlement of them should be delayed until the absent members return to Calcutta; and that they then be deliberated upon at a full committee.

Agreed, therefore, that the committee of trade be also devised of this resolution, and that they shall be hereafter informed of the distribution which may be settled, with any other regulations, which may occur relative thereto, for their government.

Mr. Sumner acquaints the committee, that, being apprised of the intentions contained in the third and ninth regulations, he desired Mr. Sykes, when he lately went up to Murthadabad, to apply to the nabob for the necessary perwannahs for authorising and facilitating this trade; and that he has accordingly received from that gentleman perwannahs to this purpose, being 106 in number: the same he now presents to the committee, together with several papers of information, which he has collected, regarding the produce of the different districts, and the condition that salt can be contracted for.

Ordered, that they be delivered over to the committee of trade for their guidance.

Taking now into consideration the appointments of this committee of trade, the select committee are of opinion, That it should be composed of two members of their body, and two gentlemen of the council.

Agreed,

Agreed, therefore, that we recommend to the council, to appoint two of their members, to be joined with two of the committee, to constitute this board, and receive charge of the plan; and, at the same time, to appoint a proper person to the office of secretary and accomptant.

(Signed) W. B. Sumner, &c.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Clive, President and Governor of Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated 30th September, 1765.

“ The regulations of the nabob’s ministry, the acquisition of the dewannee, and the honourable terms on which we have concluded a peace with the vizier of the empire, have placed the dignity and advantage of the English East-India company on a basis more firm than our most sanguine wishes could, in a few months ago have suggested. These, however, alone will not insure our stability. These are but the out-works which guard you from your natural enemies, the natives of the country : all is not safe ; danger still subsists from more formidable enemies within, luxury, corruption, avarice, rapacity. These are possessions of your principal posts, and are ready to betray your citadel. These, therefore, must be extirpated, or they will infallibly destroy us ; we cannot expect the same causes which have ruined the greatest kingdoms, should have different effects on such a state as ours. That sudden growth of riches, from whence those evils principally arise,
demands

demands our most serious attention. The affairs of Bengal, however glorious and flourishing the prospect may be now, cannot be successfully managed by men whose views extend beyond a year or two, and who will set all orders from the court of directors at defiance, well knowing they must have acquired an affluent fortune, or at least a comfortable independency, before resentment can reach him. A competency ought to be allowed to all your servants, from the time of their arrival in India, and advantages should gradually encrease to each, in proportion to his station; but, I would have few of them entertain hopes of returning to their native country till they have attained the rank of counsellor; then the prospect should open to them, and they should be certain of being enabled to return in a few years with independent fortunes. This certainty, would arise from the freight-ships, from the privileges of trade (the advantages of which you are not unacquainted with) and also from the profits upon salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, agreeably to the new regulations which we have made, in order to rectify the abuses that have been so long committed in those branches of trade, to the great detriment of the country government, without view of benefit to the company.

The regulations now established for the salt trade, will, I hope, be entirely to your satisfaction. I at first intended to propose, that the company and their servants should be jointly and equally concerned in the trade itself; but upon better consideration, I judged that plan to be rather unbecoming the dignity of the company, and concluded it would be better that they should give the

trade entirely to their servants, and fix a duty upon it for themselves, equivalent to half the profits. This duty we have computed at the rate of 35 per cent. for the present ; but, I imagine it will be able next year to bear an increase. The articles of beetle-nut and tobacco being of less consequence, and yielding much less advantage, the duties upon them of course must be less. For further particulars of those regulations, I beg leave to refer you to the committee's letter and proceedings, as I would not here trouble you with the repetition of a matter which is there so fully laid before you.

The advantages proposed for the governor and council, would undoubtedly appear extremely large to those who are unacquainted with the riches of Bengal, and the numberless opportunities which the company's servants have of acquiring money. But you are now perfectly informed of the revenues of these kingdoms, and the prodigious emoluments within the reach of gentlemen high in the service, will, I am persuaded, agree with me, that if some plan of the nature proposed, be not adopted, the governor and council will not fail to acquire much larger fortunes, by other means, in a much shorter time, which must always be productive of that quick succession, not only so detrimental to your commercial interest, but so totally incompatible with the acquisition of political knowledge, which ought now to be considered as a very material qualification in all your civil as well as military servants. To obviate an objection which may arise, that they may possibly proceed in the old way of procuring money, not-
with-

withstanding they accept of these allowances, I would have an oath tendered to them of as strong and solemn-natured as can be penned. I have drawn out the form of one agreeable to my idea of the expedient ; and have the honour to inclose it for your consideration. To this may be annexed, a penalty bond of 150,000*l.* to be executed by the governor, and of 50,000*l.* to be executed by each of the council. Thus the conscience of some will be awakened by the legal consequences of perjury, and pecuniary punishment will be a sure guard over the honesty of others. Could the hearts of men be known by their general character in society, or could their conduct in a state of temptation be ascertained from their moderate attention to wealth, whilst the sudden acquisition of it was impossible, the proposal I make would be an affront to religion and to morality ; but since that is not the case in any part of the world, and least of all so in the East, we must, for our own security, impose such restraints as shall make it impossible ever for hypocrisy to introduce corruption.

The committee's letter will specify the proportion of emoluments proposed for the field officers, from the new acquired advantages upon salt. The same objection may perhaps be made to this, which I suppose was likely to occur with respect to the plan for the benefit of the council servants ; if so, I beg leave to refer you to my proposal and remarks upon that subject, which are equally proper and applicable to this.

Extract

Extract of a letter from the select committee at Bengal, to the court of directors, dated the 30th of September, 1765.

“ By consulting our proceedings of the 10th of August and 18th of September, you will be able to judge of the progress we have made in carrying your orders into execution relative to the trade of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco. This subject we consider with all the attention possible, and regard to your interest, and good of the service. We found that to remove the inconveniences of a free trade, prevent the oppressions daily committed, save this valuable article of commerce from ruin, and diffuse the benefits resulting indiscriminately among all your servants entitled to dusticks, it was necessary to invest the whole in an exclusive company, composed of the three first classes of your covenanted servants, the field officers, chaplains, and head surgeons. In admitting the field officers, and staying the proportions allotted to each class, we had particular regard to your present situation of your council, and field officers who are now excluded any emoluments they before enjoyed. It is our opinion, that gentlemen who have risen to their stations with credit and reputation, are certainly entitled to something more than a subsistence. They even have a right to expect such advantages in your service, as may enable them to return in a few years with independency to their native country. With respect to the company, we are unanimously of opinion, it is more for their interest to be considered superiors than proprietors, and

and as the royal grant of the dewannee renders the 11th article unnecessary, we are thereby enabled to subject the trade to a duty which will produce a clear annual revenue of 120,000 l. sterling. Whatever surplus of their revenues the company may find themselves possessed of, after discharging all the demands on this presidency, we imagine may be employed much more to their benefit, in supporting and extending the China trade, and assisting the wants of other presidencies.

However, should it either appear that we have mistaken the company's real interest, or that the profits of the trade will admit of increased duties. It is our resolution, to give all possible satisfaction on those points to our honourable masters, and to lay before you a fair, full, and candid representation of the amount of the costs, charges, and sales of the first year.

Extract of the general letter from Bengai, dated the 30th September, 1765.

"The select committee having taken under consideration your orders touching the inland trade in the articles of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, they communicated to the board, in their next proceedings a set of regulations formed thereupon, as the general work of a plan for carrying it on in future; we beg leave to refer you to the proceedings themselves for your particular information of this plan; and have here to inform you, that Messieurs Sumner, Verelst, Leycester, and Gray, were in consequence, constituted the committee for receiving charge thereof, and managing it on behalf of the body

body of the proprietors, with authority to correspond with the subordinate factories, and to pursue all such measures as might conformable thereto appear to them eligible and proper ; and that the necessary advice and orders were given accordingly to the subordinates, and publication made, prohibiting all persons dependant on the company's government, from entering into any new engagements in those articles, unless any contractors with the committee for the purchase or sale of them : we have also to note to you, that Messrs. Leycester and Gray dissented to the authority the select committee had taken upon themselves on this occasion, esteeming it in no wise delegated to them by the terms and intention of their appointments : and that the subject should have been considered and determined on in council.

The committee of trade having entered upon the prosecution of the plan, we have received from them a representation for having the society secured against any innovations in the course of their present engagements ; and soliciting from us such a deed as we might think sufficient to ensure to them the exclusive rights to the trade, till those engagements are concluded, the same time to be renewed every season, so long as it shall be agreeable to you that this plan should subsist. We could not but agree with them entirely in the propriety of this measure, and have given directions for drawing accordingly such a writing as may be thought sufficient to secure to the present proprietors the right in question ; and we now request your permission to renew the same
for

for the future concerns : if the plan meets with your approbation.

The select committee having laid before us a copy of their proceedings, containing their conclusion of the plan for carrying on the inland trade, with respect to the company, and the classes of proprietors, and the same has been delivered over to the committee for managing the trade with instructions to proceed conformably thereto."

Extract of Bengal general consultations, dated the
16th of September, 1765.

Present,

The right honourable lord Clive president, &c.

The committee for managing the plan of trade in the reserved articles of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, and in the following letter, soliciting a deed to secure the proprietors in the right to the same, during the continuance of their present engagements to be renewed every season, as long as it may be agreeable to the honourable company that this plan should subsist.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

"In consequence of the plan which you have been pleased to trust to our management, we have, for some time past, been taking measures for regulating the trade of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, and having already concluded considerable contracts for the purchase of the first article.

Having

Having thus engaged in the trade, and made advances of the society's property, with a view of being able to carry it on agreeably to your said plan, it becomes a necessary consideration with us, on behalf of the body for whom we act, to have them secured against any innovations during the continuance of their present engagements. The terms of the purchase contracts will run for the ensuing year's produce of the several articles, and the vend will be concluded as soon after as possible ; we therefore request, that your lordship and council, will furnish us with such a deed or writing as you shall think sufficient to secure to the society the free and sole purchase of the articles of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, produced in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from the first of September 1765, to the 31st of August 1766, allowing sufficient time to dispose of such purchase for the season, to be renewed every season, as long as it shall be agreeable to the honourable company that this plan should subsist. And as a very great loss would arise to the proprietors, should any alteration happen after the concern for the year is begun, and before it is finished, that ample provisions be made for the continuance of the conclusion of such concerns.

We are the most earnest to be satisfied in this point, as, until we obtain your compliance, we find, we shall not be able to establish the credit of the society amongst the merchants, so as to raise the necessary fund for carrying on the trade.

We are, with respect,

My lord and gentlemen,

Fort William, Your most obedient humble servt.
Sept. 11, 1765. W. B. Sumner, &c.

The

The same having been pursued and considered, we are unanimous of opinion respecting the propriety of passing the deed requested the society. And,

Such a one is accordingly ordered to be prepared by Mr. Wittall, for the security of the present proprietors.

It is agreed to apply to the company for permission to renew the same for the future concerns, if the plan meets with their approbation. And,

The committee is advised in answer accordingly, with further informations, that when the present deed is prepared and executed, it shall be immediately transmitted them.

To William Brightwell Sumner, Esq; &c. gentlemen of the committee of trade.

“Gentlemen,

“We have received your letter of the 11th inst. soliciting us to grant you, on behalf of the society of trade, a deed to secure to them the exclusive right of trading in the reversed articles during the continuance of their present engagements. As we agree with you entirely in the propriety of this measure, we have given directions for drawing such a writing as may be thought sufficient to secure to the present proprietors, the right you request; and we shall apply to the court of directors for permission to renew the same for the future concerns, if the plan meets with their approbation.

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As soon as the deed is prepared and executed, it shall be immediately transmitted to you.

Fort William,
16th Sept. 1765.

We are,
Gentlemen,
Your most obed. servant.

Extract of the Bengal general consultations, dated
the 22d of January, 1766.

Present,
The right honourable lord Clive, president, &c.

The collector-general reporting Mr. Leycester's account of Molunghee salt balance to be just, ordered, the amount, being current rupees, 27,183 5 3 be disbursed him out of the treasury.

Extract of the Bengal select consultations, dated
the 23d day of July, 1768.

Present,
The honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president, &c.

By salt balances paid to the gentlemen at Chittigong and Ducca, account their salt balances, the nabob Meer Jassier having undertaken to make good all such arrears, in consequence of their being ordered to relinquish this commerce.

By the governor and council - rupees 25,000 0

By ditto, ditto - - - 61,454 0

By Mr. George Williamson, paid the balance due to him from a contract for salt with the government, as per order from the select committee 15,126 15
At

At a conclusion, dated the 31st of August, 1767.

Present,

The honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president, &c.

Mr. Ruffel having met with a minute of Mr. Sumner's, dated the 11th of September last, relative to the mongunhees salt balances ; he now begs leave to deliver it in with several papers therein referred to, and requests the board's orders concerning them, having daily application from those to whom the balances is due ; he adds, that it appears by the proceedings of the committee of salt trade, that these accounts had been referred by the board to them, and that they returned them approved the 29th of October, but as nothing of this appears on the face of the consultations, not even Mr. Sumner's minute, Mr. Ruffel is at a loss to know what further is necessary, or whether the balances are to be discharged by the collector-general. He further informs the board, that many more claims have been lodged since the date of Mr. Sumner's minute, and the accounts are now under examination.

30th July, 1767.

Claud Ruffel, Collector-general.

Mr. Sumner's minute is now also read as follows :

Mr. Sumner having examined the several accounts and claims of the Kallery farmers on the Molungees, for salt balances rising in the year,

years 1762 to 1765, and having also compared the same with the accounts of different molungees, finds, that the gross balances of the whole are adjusted pretty much to their satisfaction. But as some indulgences, which the farmers think themselves entitled to, have very much increased the said balances, and caused much discontent to the molungees, he has thought it necessary, for the better settling and adjusting thereof, to have reference to the resolves of the committee of lands on this subject.

He has accordingly made such extracts from their books of proceedings, in 1762 and 1763, as seemed requisite to clear the principal points in dispute; which extracts, with a few observations of his own, he now submits to the consideration of the honourable board, from whence it will appear, that the demands made by the farmers, of allowances instead of Kallery rents, boat-hire, &c. are very unreasonable, and such as he imagines the honourable board will not admit of. He has, therefore, caused the said charges to be deducted from the balances demanded by the farmers; and their several accounts of balances, agreeable to this statement, he now lays before the board, together with a general abstract of the whole, and copies of the several accounts following, from their further considerations.

1. Amount outstanding balance of salt duty, from 1764 to 1765.
2. Ditto, ditto, ditto, Kallery rents ditto.
3. Outstanding balances of cash due from the country Kallery molungees to John Burdett, Esq;
4. James

4. James Amyatts Esq; in account with the honourable company for Kallery rents and salt duty.

The board's sentiments on the payment of the molunges salt balances, concurring entirely with the arguments made use of by Mr. Sumner, the collector is now directed to discharge the amounts thereof, being maunds 105,827 39 4 at the rate of 60 Arcot rupees per maunds.

(Signed) H. Verelst, &c.

Extra& of the Consultation of the Committee of New Lands, the 21st August, 1765.

Present, Wm. Brightwell Sumner, &c.

“ The farmer of the khaskhallaries, as the season of the year is now arrived for making fresh advances, informs the committee of his intencion of relinquishing his farm, and requests the committee will point out in what manner he is to recover the balances due to him from the molunges.

“ Considering the regulations which are now about to take place, regarding the salt, the committee are of opinion, That it will be more eligible to put the khaskhallaries on the same footing with the others in the company's parganahs; and that therefore the company, shall pay off the balances due from the molunges of the khaskhallaries; and, in order to reimburse the company for this advance, that the renters of the khaskhallaries

ries do in the same manner pay a duty of ten per cent. as is done on the rest.

Read a letter from the committee of trade, requesting our permission, to lot out, and let the salt khallaries in the Calcutta lands to their contractors, acquainting us at the same time, that they shall make the said contractors responsible in their contracts, for the company's duties; and that they shall hereafter deliver us in a report with what persons they do settle the contracts.

Ordered, the letter to be entered after this days proceeding. And

Agreed, the secretary do acquaint the committee of trade, that they have our permission to divide and let the khallaries in the manner they purpose.

Extract of Bengal general Consultation, the 26th August, 1768.

Present,

The Hon. Harry Verelst, Esq; President, &c.

Extract of a Letter from Richard Beecher, Esq; Collector General, to the Governor and Council of Fort-William, dated the 28th July, 1768.

Of the estimate for the year	{	1,096,003	1
1774, I have collected			
S. R.			
And the amount of what I ex-	{	78,859	•
pected will be collected very			
soon, and without difficulty			

And

And the amount of the Bar-
boury and Medinmull khallary
rents, which will likewise be
collected without difficulty, and
would have been brought to ac-
count in April last, but out of
tenderness to the merchants, who
pleaded with inability to make
any sales so long as the restric-
tion enjoined by the society of
trade - - - - -

70,000

Sicca rupees 1,244,862 1

The accounts of last year's collection will, I
hope, evince, that there is no probability the
company's interest will suffer by the collections
continuing in the hands of the collector general;
which, however, you will be able to form a
juster idea of, from an abstract of the collections
that have been made since the Bengal year 1169,
which I now deliver you, and which, compared
with the following statement, will shew at one
view how much the last year's collection exceeds
what has ever been collected in any former
year.

Collected of the last year's Huf-
tabood rupees - - - - - } 10,96,003 1 0

Of old balances - - - - - } 1,65,990 3 0

And calculating the khallary
duty before mentioned, which
ought to be added in making a
comparison with the former year's,
wherein it is concluded - - - }

1,70,000 0 0

Total sum, Sicca rupees 13,31,993 4 0
The

The highest collection in one }
 year, as by the abstract for five } 10,85,252 0 17
 years proceeding appears to be }

The increase therefore of }
 the last year's collection is, } 2,46,741 3 3
 Sicca rupees - - - - - }

The deduction of Sicca rupees 2,36,010, seems also proper, it being the estimated amount of the salt khallary rents and duties for the years 1172 and 1173, which I find was appropriated by the society of trade, in consequence of the provision made for the company from their fund at their first institution.

(Signed) Richard Beecher.

Fort-William.

At a Select Committee, dated the 3d Sept. 1766.

Present,

The Right Hon. Lord Clive, President, &c.

The Right Hon. the President lays before the Committee the following Minute :

“ Gentlemen,

“ Some time before my departure from England, the court of directors debated upon the propriety of suffering their servants in Bengal to trade in the articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco ; and it could not be expected they would continue to them the enjoyment of those profitable

ble branches, unless means were devised by which the natives would no longer be oppressed, and by which the nabob and the company would largely partake of the advantage upon a firm persuasion, that such means would be devised, they were pleased to defer their final determination of this matter till the sentiments of the select committee should be transmitted to them. By all their letters of last year, and by several of this, they still seemed inclined to wait for our representation; but by their letter of the 19th of February last, per Lord Camden, they positively forbid their servants to have any concerns whatever in this trade. At that time, indeed, they could not have had the least idea of the favourable change in the affairs of these provinces, whereby the interest of the nabob, with regard to salt, is no longer immediately concerned.

“ When we first took this important matter into consideration, I joined in opinion with the rest of the committee, that if the trade could be put upon such a footing, that the nabob should receive more than had been received by any of his predecessors, the company be amply considered, and the natives become purchasers upon terms full as considerable as in former times, the servants might be indulged in the privilege, under such certain rules and restrictions, as would make the trade carry with it as little as possible the odious form of a monopoly.

“ These points have been settled: I consented to the plan laid down last year. My absence from the presidency, the multiplicity of affairs then in agitation, wherein the peace and tran-

quility of the provinces, the interest of the company, and the honour of the nation, were more immediately concerned, prevented my paying that attention I could have wished to that important object. Although by the acquisition of the dewannee, the whole of the duties belonging to the company, and by the diligence and zeal of members of the committee of trade, many useful reformatiions had taken place : yet, from my observation when I was last up the country, and from the heavy complaints against Europeans of the monopoly of trade in general, I find, that the industrious native is still deprived of that share to which he has an undoubted and a more natural right ; nor is it yet upon that equitable footing which justice and humanity would, I am sure, incline this committee to establish.

A few weeks more must bring us the usual resolution of the court of directors, in answer to our dispatches by the admiral Stephens ; and if, notwithstanding the present situation of their affairs, they should think proper to repeat their orders per lord Camden, it will be our duty to obey them ; and I am persuaded they will be obeyed by this committee. But if, on the contrary, upon receipt of our representations, they should change their sentiments, and approve of the regulations we have already made, no time should be lost on our part in establishing the mode for carrying on the trade in future. The confidence which the court of directors have been pleased particularly to express in my endeavours to settle upon an equitable plan that trade which has been the source of so many evils, cannot but
promote

promote my zeal for the cause, and make me anxiously wish to see every regulation, that you may join with me in thinking necessary, to take place.

The company's duties, I beg leave to propose, shall be increased ; the servants still receive a reasonable share of emolument, and the terms upon which the natives are finally to be concerned, advantageously fixed,

I propose, first, that all salt, provided by the society of trade shall be sold at Calcutta, and at other places where it is made, and no where else.

Secondly, that the price of salt shall not exceed two rupees per maud, or two hundred rupees per hundred mauds.

Thirdly, that the salt shall be sold to the natives only, who are to transport it to every part of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, and to have the whole profits arising from the sale thereof, and that no company's servant, free merchant, or European, shall be concerned in that article, directly or indirectly, after the sale of it at the above places.

Fourthly, that the Calcutta black merchants shall be limited to a certain proportion of purchase, but that no banvans, or servant whatsoever, belonging to any European, shall be included, or have any concern therein.

Fifthly, that every endeavour be made use of to encourage the substantial merchants of the country either to come down in person to the place where the salt is provided, or to send their agents, in order to purchase or transport the salt to different places of sale.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, that a certain price be fixed for the sale of every maund of salt at every town, market, or village, where it is sold, according to the distance and former custom.

Seventhly, that if salt be sold to any of the buzars, or markets, for one couroy above the stipulated price, the vender shall not only forfeit all the salt there found in his possession, but be liable to a forfeit of 1000 rupees for every 100 maunds of salt so sold; and the salt and money so forfeited shall go, one half to the informer, and one half to the government.

Eighthly, that the ministers at Muxadavad and Patna have copies sent them of the new regulations, and that they be desired to apply to the nabob to make the same known throughout the three provinces; and that every phouzdan, &c. see they be put in execution upon pain of being dismissed from his employment.

Ninthly, this business being entirely commercial, I propose, that in the instrument of agreement for the next year it shall be provided, that the society of trade be answerable to the board for their conduct, that the board may either make new regulations, or amend those made by the society of trade, as they see fit; and that in case of necessity, the select committee shall have power to controul the conduct of the whole.

Tenthly, that a duty of fifty per cent. be paid to the company upon all the salt provided in their own lands, and fifty per cent. to the government, upon all the salt provided upon the lands of the government, and fifteen per cent. upon beetle, which duties will, in fact, be brought to the company's

company's credit, which according to the present state of the salt trade, will produce the company from twelve to thirteen lacks of rupees per annum.

The prohibition of a free inland trade, however disagreeable to individuals, must now take place, and be confined to imports and exports, and to their immediate returns; which returns shall be made only to the presidency, or to one or other of the established factories. The company are sovereigns in India, and they have declared, that the trade carried on for these four years past, is an usurpation not only of their prerogatives, but of the privileges of the natives, and repugnant to the express and repeated orders of the court of directors. The indulgence, however, in the trade of salt, upon the footing I hope it will now be established, should, in my opinion obviate all complaints: since it seems to be the most equitable mode between the company and their servants; and, at the same time, a distribution of natural right to the people of the country. Considering that the late great advantages of unlimited trade are cut off, I cannot imagine, that the court of directors will deny their servants this share of benefit, as a recompence for their attention and assistance in the management of the important concerns of these provinces. On the other hand, I would have the servants look upon these emoluments as a gift from the hand of their employers, offered them annually in reward of their fidelity, and which will certainly be withheld from them, if ever their authority should be resisted,

fitted, and discontent and rapacity take place of gratitude and moderation.

CLIVE."

His lordship's minute having been read and minutely considered, the regulations therein specified, were unanimously approved.

Agreed therefore, That the president's regulation for the inland trade be laid before the council with all convenient speed for their approbation, in order that the necessary instructions for prosecuting the joint concern for the ensuing season, may be immediately issued to the committee of trade.

Resolved, That the above concerns shall consist of sixty shares : and that the proprietors shall stand inrolled with the several proportions affixed to their names, in the manner ascertained in the following statement.

At a consultation, the 8th of September, 1766.

Present,

The right honourable lord Clive, president, &c.

The proceedings of the select committee from the 12th of August to the 3d of September are laid before the board, and the regulations for the salt concerns therein proposed being approved,

Ordered, They be entered after the consultation, and that the same time be communicated to the following gentlemen, who are now appointed to constitute the committee of trade, with direction
for

for carrying the plan into execution as soon as possible.

William Brightwell Sumner, Esq; &c.

Extract of a general letter to Bengal, per Worcester, &c. dated the 9th of February, 1764.

Received in Bengal, 15th July, 1764.

“ One great source of disputes, misunderstandings, and difficulties, which have occurred with the country government, appears evidently to have taken its rise from the unwarrantable and licentious manner of carrying on the private trade by the company’s servants, their gomastahs, agents, and others, to the prejudice of the subar, both with respect to his authority and the revenues justly due to him.

The diverting and taking from his natural subjects the trade in the inland parts of the country, to which neither we, or any persons whatsoever, dependent upon us, or under our protection, have any manner of right, and consequently endangering the company’s very valuable privileges, in order therefore to remedy all these disorders, we do hereby positively order and direct,

That from the receipt of this letter, a final and effectual end be forthwith put to the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country; and that all Europeans, and other agents, or gomastahs, who have been concerned in such trade, be immediately ordered down to Calcutta, and not suffered to return, or be replaced as such, by any other persons.

That

That our firmaund privileges of being duty-free are certainly confined to the company's export and import trade only, you are to have recourse to, and keep within the liberty therein stipulated and given, as nearly as possible be done ; but as by the connivance of the Bengal government, and constant usages, the company's covenant servants have had the same benefit as the company, with respect to their export and import trade.

We are willing they should enjoy the same, and that duffucks be granted accordingly ; but herein the most effectual care is to be taken, that no excesses or abuses are suffered upon any account whatsoever, nor duffuck granted to any other than our covenant servants aforesaid ; however, notwithstanding any of our former orders, no writer is to have the benefit of a duffuck, until he has served out his full time of five years in that station : free merchants and others are not intitled to, or to have the benefit of, the company's duffucks, but are to pay the usual duties.

As no agent or gomastahs, are to reside on account of private trade, at any of the inland parts of the country, all businesses on account of licensed private trade is to be carried on by and through the means of the company's covenanted servants, residing at the several subordinate factories, as has been usual.

We are under the necessity of giving the foregoing orders, in order to preserve the tranquillity of the country, and harmony with the nabob ; they are rather outlines than complete directions, which are to add to, and improve upon, agreeable to the spirit of, and our meaning in them, as may be necessary

necessary to answer the desired purposes. And if any person or persons are guilty of a contrivention of them, be they whomsoever they may ; if our own servants, they are to be dismissed the service, if others, the company's protection is to be withdrawn ; and you have the liberty of sending them forthwith to England, if you judge the nature of the offence requires it.

We cannot avoid, in this place, taking notice of the endeavours of president Vassittart, to form a plan of regulations ; which, though it appeared so advantageous to individuals, was strongly censured by the majority of the council, as not giving them, according to their way of judging, a sufficient scope of their unwarrantable trade ; however, we are satisfied of the president's good intentions ; but, at the same time, we say it was not calculated so as to prevent future misunderstandings with the subah and his government, because thereby an inland trade was to be admitted of, which has been before observed, would certainly be attended with constant embroils and difficulties."

Extract of the general letter to Bengal, dated the
15th of February, 1765.

"In our letter of the eighth of February, and first of June last, we gave you our sentiments and directions, very fully, in respect to the inland trade of Bengal ; we now enforce the same in the strongest manner, and positively insist, that you take no steps whatever towards renewing this trade, without express leave ; for which purpose you must not

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fail

fail to give us the fullest information upon the subject, agreeable to our above-mentioned directions.

The enforcing our said orders is the more indispensable necessary, from our observing the complaints of the present nabob, taken notice of and referred to, in our separate letter of the 20th of February, 1764, relating to the many difficulties, hardships, and oppressions, we met with, resulting from the before-mentioned unwarrantable and licentious trade. We have such an intire confidence in lord Clive's great abilities and good intentions, that we make no doubt these great abuses will be the particular objects of his care and attention; and that he will be able to carry these our orders effectually into execution.

You inform us of an increase to our revenues of more than one lack of rupees from the salt-pans in the Calcutta lands, by the method of taxing the kalleries at thirty rupees each. So considerable an increase seems sufficiently to justify your having continued the same method for the present year, taking it for granted, that no grievances or discontent has arisen from this tax."

Extract of the general letter to Bengal, dated the 26th of April, 1765.

"We are extremely anxious for the arrival of lord Clive, and the gentlemen who accompanied him, as they have been so lately in England, they are the best judges of the opinion the company and the nation entertain of the conduct of the English in Bengal for these last four years; which, we are sorry to say, is in general, that they have been guilty

guilty of violating treaties, of great oppression, and a combination to enrich themselves.

We do not here mean to enter into a discussion respecting the political conduct of our late governor and council ; but, must say, that an undoubted thirst after riches seem to have possessed the whole body of our servants to that degree, that they have lost all sight of justice to the country government, and of their duty to the company.

In reading the opinions of the several members of the late council respecting this illegal trade ; by which we mean, the articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, we are astonished to find those among them who pretended to found their right on the firmamunds.

Treaties of commerce are understood to be for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties : it is then impossible to suppose, that the court of Delhi, by conferring the privilege of trading free of customs, could mean an inland trade in the commodities of their own country, at that period unpractised and unthought of by the English, to the detriment of their revenues, and the ruin of their own merchants : we do not find such a construction was ever heard of until our own servants first invented it, and afterwards supported it by violence ; neither could it be claimed by the subsequent treaties with Meer Jassier, or Cossim Ally, which were never understood to give one additional privilege to trade, beyond what the firmamunds expressed. In short, the specious arguments used by those who pretended to set up a right to it, convince us they did not want judgment, but virtue to withstand the temptation of suddenly amassing a great

great fortune, although acquired by means incompatible with the peace of the country, and their duty to the company.

Equally blameable were they, who acknowledging they had no right to it, and sensible of the ill consequences resulting from assuming it, have nevertheless carried on this trade, and used the authority of the company to obtain, by a treaty exacted by violence, a sanction for a trade to enrich themselves, without the least regard or advantage to the company, whose forces they employed to protect them in it.

Had this short question been put, which their duty ought first to have suggested. It is for the interest of our employers; they would not have hesitated one moment about it; but this criterion seems never once to have occurred.

All barriers being thus broken between the English and the country government, and every thing out of its proper channel, we are at a loss how to prescribe means to restore order from this confusion; and being deprived of that confidence, which we hoped we might have placed in those servants, who appear to have been the actors in these strange scenes; we can only say, that we rely on the zeal and abilities of lord Clive, and the gentlemen of the select committee, to remedy these evils. We hope they will restore our reputation among the country powers, and convince them of our abhorrence of oppression and rapaciousness.

It is currently reported here, that letters are received by the duke of Albany, which make mention of an agreement between the nabob Meer Jassier, and our late governor and council since the
treaty

treaty concluded with him on the 10th of July, 1763, by which it is stipulated, that the present nabob shall pay, over and above the thirty lacks for the company, mentioned in that treaty, forty lacks by way of restitution, to make good the losses of private persons; besides twenty five lacks to the army, and twelve lacks to the navy, both named in the treaty; making together the enormous sum of one hundred and seven lacks of rupees; which is above one million three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

It is a very extraordinary circumstance that there is no mention made in any of the letters from our late governor and council, of what sum was to be given by the nabob to make good the private losses, although in their letter of the 27th of September, 1764, they say they have regulated the payment of the restitution to the merchants, which implies the being in possession of a fund for that purpose; but we must suppose, if the reports as to the sums stipulated to be given for this use, and also by way of donation to the army and navy, are true, that they purposely omitted to acquaint us of the particular amount from an apprehension that we could never approve of an agreement with the nabob of this consequence, and for such excessive large sums of money, without advising us thereof, and giving us very good reasons for a proceeding which so nearly affects the honour and interest of the company; indeed, when we consider the present state of the country, involved, for years past, in continual wars, and drained of its riches and the blood of its inhabitants, it is impossible for us to suppose our own servants capable of adding to greatly

to its miseries, by compelling, or even persuading the nabob to pay such exorbitant sums of money ; and, at a time when, by all accounts, he is himself in the greatest distress. Be this as it may, we do expect and require from you a particular account of every sum received from the nabob by way of donation, or under any denomination, by any and each of your servants, civil and military, whether by agreement in writing, or otherwise, in what manner, and for what services ; and that you immediately transmit to us copies of all such agreements, and the particular account of losses given in by such individual, together with what proportion has been already paid ; and we positively forbid any further payment till you receive our future orders.

We do require from you, and we have a right so to do, a just and precise account of this whole extraordinary transaction. The honour and reputation of the company, and even of the nation, are at stake ; and when these particulars, if true, come to be known, they require the fullest and most explicit explanation and justification. We, who are at present totally uninformed from any authentic accounts, can only express our astonishment, to hear that such things have been, as we cannot suggest to ourselves upon what principles the present nabob could be expected, persuaded, or required, to make good the losses sustained by individuals in carrying on, to their great imputation, and the prejudice of the company they served, a most illicit and unwarrantable, although to them a most lucrative trade in the articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco ; and we are as much at a loss to comprehend

hence how the services rendered to the new nabob could deserve so exorbitant a consideration to be given to those who were only doing their duty in the service of their king and country, and of this company."

Extract of the separate letter to Bengal, dated the 24th of December, 1765.

" Although it was thought fit to confirm the treaty made with Jaffier Ally Khan, in 1757, because the capture of the settlement had involved the inhabitants in one general ruin; and without such a restitution, it must have sunk under the calamity, or it would have been the work of many years to restore it to a flourishing condition; no such circumstances existed in the present case, yourselves aggressors in the war, and in a great measure brought on by an illicit trade, of which we shall give our sentiments in the sequel. We fear to this demand will be found, for the most part, an indemnification for the losses sustained in that very trade.

Your deliberations on the inland trade have laid open to us a scene of most cruel oppression, which is indeed exhibited at one view of the 13th article of the nabob's complaints, mentioned thus in your consultations of the 17th of October, 1765.

The poor of this country, who used always to deal in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, are now deprived of their daily bread by the trade of the Europeans, whereby no kind of advantage accrues to the company, and the government's revenues greatly injured. We shall for the present observe to you, that every one of our servants concerned

cerned in this trade has been guilty of a breach in his covenants, and a disobedience to our orders.

We shall say nothing further at present on the inland trade, till that important subject shall have been taken up by Lord Clive, and the gentlemen of the select committee; only to observe, that the regulations proposed in consultation, 17th of October, 1764, of confining the trade of our servants in the article of salt to the capital cities of Patna, Dacca, and Murshadabad, on paying the nabob $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is a manifest disobedience of our orders of the 8th of February, then under our deliberations, which positively forbid all trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco. Nor does it by any means obviate the objections arising from the distress of the poor, and the injury to his revenues; for if you pay only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the country people 20, or perhaps 40 per cent. it is as much a monopoly as ever."

Extract of the general letter to Bengal, dated the 19th of February, 1766.

"With respect to this treaty with Nazem al Dowla, it is proper here to insert at length the five articles, which runs in these words:" "I do ratify and confirm to the English, the privilege granted them by their firmaund, and several hufbulhookums carrying on their trade by means of their own dustuck, free from all duties, taxes, and impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting in the article of salt, on which a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is to be levied on the kowana, or Houghley market price."

This

This fifth article is totally repugnant to our orders, contained in our general letter by the Kent and Lapwing, dated the 1st of June, 1764, in which we not only expressed our abhorrence of an article in the treaty with Meer Jaffier, literally corresponding with the present fifth article; but in positive terms directed you, in concert with the nabob, to form an equitable plan for carrying on the inland trade, and transmit the same to us, accompanied by such explanations and remarks as might enable us to give our sentiments thereupon. We must remind you too, that in our said general letter, we expressly directed, that our orders in our letter of the 8th of February preceding, which were to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and in all other articles produced and consumed in the country, should remain in force, until an equitable and satisfactory plan could be formed and adopted. As, therefore, there is not the least latitude given you for concluding any treaty whatsoever respecting this inland trade, we must, and do consider, what you have done as an express breach and violation of our orders, and as a determined resolution to sacrifice the interest of the company, and the peace of the country, to lucrative and selfish views.

This unaccountable behaviour puts an end to all confidence in those who made this treaty, and forces us to resolve on measures for the support of our authority, and the preservation of the company; we do, therefore, pronounce, that every servant concerned in that trade, stands guilty of a breach of his covenants with us, and of our or-

ders ; and, in consequence of this resolution, we positively direct, that if that treaty is now subsisting, you make a reformat renunciation by some solemn act, to be entered on your records, of all right under the said treaty, or otherwise, to trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco ; and that you transmit this renunciation of that part of the treaty in form to the nabob, in Persian language, whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen circumstances may arise. It is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid, this trade of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and of all articles that are not for export and import, according to the spirit of the firmaud, which does not in the least give any latitude whatsoever for carrying on such an inland trade ; and, moreover, we shall deem every European concerned therein, directly, or indirectly, guilty of a breach of his covenants, and direct, that he be forthwith sent to England, that we may proceed against him accordingly. And every native who shall avail himself of our protection to carry this trade on without paying all the duties due to the government, equally with the rest of the nabob's subjects, shall forfeit that protection, and be banished the settlement ; and we direct, that these resolutions be signed publicly throughout the settlement.

“ First, the very same letter that carried his appointment to the government, carried our most positive orders to put a total and effectual stop to the trade of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, which we expressed to be the source of the war, and incompatible with the peace of the country, and
interest

interest of the company ; yet, in the resultation, 17th October, wherein that order is taken into consideration, he signs to a resolution to carry on the trade of salt and beetle-nut, paying the nabob, on salt, two and a half per cent. in direct breach of our orders ; and in the treaty with the new nabob, he stipulates for that right by an express article of the treaty.

Although the treaty with Meer Jassier Ally Khawn was entered into before Mr. Spencer's arrival, yet he gave his sanction to every part of it, particularly that which stipulated restitution for losses, which, we make no doubt, he knew to be mostly sustained in an illicit trade, and preferring the interest of the servants to the honour of the company, countenanced the aggravating circumstances which accompanied the shameful prostitution of our authority,"

Extract of the Company's Letter to Lord Clive,
dated 17th May, 1766.

" My Lord,

" We have received your lordship's letter of the 30th September last, which, with the letter from the select committee and their proceedings, have given us a clear view of the state in which your lordship found our affairs on your arrival, and the state in which they were at the time of the said advices.

When we consider the penetration with which your lordship at once discerned our true interest in every branch, the rapidity with which
you

you restored peace, order, and tranquility, and the unbiaſſed integrity that has governed all your actions, we muſt congratulate your lordſhip on being the happy inſtrument of ſuch extenſive bleſſings in thoſe countries ; and you have our ſincereſt thanks for the great and important advantages thereby obtained for the company.

We have the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the deplorable ſtate to which our affairs were on the point of being reduced, from the corruption and rapacity of our ſervants, and the univerſal depravity of manners throughout the ſettlement ; we agree entirely with your lordſhip, that the train our affairs were then in, would in a very few months have brought us to a moſt dangerous ſituation.

Our letter to the ſelect committee expreſſes our ſentiments of what has been obtained by way of donations, and to that we muſt add, that we think the vaſt fortunes acquired in the inland trade, have been obtained by a ſcene of the moſt tyrannic and oppreſſive conduct that ever was known in any age or country ; we have been uninformed in our ſentiments and orders on this ſubject from the firſt knowledge we had of it ; and your lordſhip will not therefore wonder, that after the fatal experience we had of the violent abuſes committed in this trade, that we could not be brought to approve it, even in the limited and regular manner with which it comes to us in the plan laid down in the committee's proceedings : we agree in opinion with your lordſhip, on the propriety of holding out ſuch advantages to our chief ſervants, civil and military, as may open to them the means of honourably acquiring a competency in

in our service ; but the difficulty of the subject, and the short time we have at present to consider of it, have obliged us to defer giving our sentiments and directions thereupon until the next dispatches.

As the inland trade has been abolished principally with a view to the encouragement of the natives, we hope your lordship will find the means to prevent its becoming a monopoly in any hands, but more particularly in the hands of any powerful native, from whom the poor might suffer those very inconveniences, for the prevention of which, we have forbidden our servants to trade in it, and have relinquished those advantages that we ourselves might make by such a monopoly.

We have had too much occasion to remark the tyrannic and oppressive conduct of all European agents who have got away from under the eye of the presidency, and we wish your lordship would make it an object of your consideration, how to confine the said Europeans as much as possible to the presidency, and to those subordinates where the largeness of the investment may require it to be conducted by covenanted servants, preferably to gomastahs.

We have the most perfect sense of your lordship's disinterestedness in every part of your conduct, and we shall not fail to represent this to the proprietors; and shall, at the same time, inform them of the many great advantages your lordship has obtained for the company. But we fear, my lord, past experience will teach them, as it does us, that the permanency of those advantages will depend much upon your lordship's continuing in India, till
you

you have seen the regulations firmly established for the conducting these important affairs ; another year's experience, and peaceable enjoyment of your acquisition, might fix them on a basis, that would give hopes they may be as lasting as they are great ; and there is no doubt, my lord, but the general voice of the proprietors, indeed we may say of every man who wishes well to his country, will be to join in our request that your lordship will continue another year in India ; we are very sensible of the sacrifice we ask your lordship to make, in desiring your continuance another year in Bengal, after the great services you have rendered the company, and the difficulties you have passed through in accomplishing them, under circumstances, in which your own example has been the principal means of restraining the general rapaciousness and corruption which had brought our affairs so near the brink of ruin. These services, my lord, deserve more than verbal acknowledgments, and we have no doubt that the proprietors will concur with us in opinion, that some solid and permanent retribution, adequate to your great merits, should crown your lordship's labour and success."

Extract of the general letter to Bengal, dated the
17th May, 1766.

" On the second instant we dispatched over land under the strictest orders for the speediest conveyance thereof a short letter to the right honourable the president, conveying our approbation of the measures his lordship had taken, and was pursuing so indefatigably and zealously for the company's
advan-

advantage ; a duplicate thereof went by the same route on the ———, and triplicate of it sealed, is inclosed to be opened by the select committee only, in case of lord Clive's absence.

By this conveyance we write to the select committee, in answer to their letter of the 30th of September last ; but as your letter to them contains matter of general and great importance to the affairs of the presidency, when it is laid before you, it is to be regarded and obeyed to all intents and purposes as if directed to you in the usual manner of a general letter.

We confirm the powers with which our presidency, lord Clive, and the rest of the select committee are already invested ; and we hereby give them full authority to correct abuses of every kind, particularly in the collection and management of our revenues, to endeavour by legal means to detect all sorts of corruption in our servants, civil and military, and to punish immediately those who disobey the company's orders, or disregard the select committee's regulations to take cognizance of all proceedings in Bengal against persons now dismissed by the company for exacting or receiving presents from the nabob, his ministers, and others, and to prosecute them conformable to our orders by this conveyance, or any future offenders of the like kind. In short, we give them full power to do every act and deed which may contribute to preserve peace, tranquility, discipline, harmony, good order, and subordination in the settlement, by suspending the offenders from our service, be they whom they may. All other persons not under covenants to us, who shall offend in any of these points, must have
our

our protection withdrawn from them, and be sent home."

Extract of a letter to the select committee, dated the 17th of May, 1766.

" Before we proceed any further, we would have it observed, that although this letter is addressed to our president and the select committee, by way of answer to their's of the 30th of September last, yet as it contains matters of general importance to the affairs of the presidency, it is our meaning that the same should be laid before the president and council and be attended to, and the same regard paid to every part thereof, to all intents and purposes, as if it had been directed to them in the usual manner of a general letter.

We have in all our letters, from the first knowledge we had of our servants being engaged in the inland trade, strongly discountenanced and forbid it. We have always treated it as a breach of our orders, a violation of the firmamund; and, in a great measure, the cause of the late wars; the amazing sums demanded for restitution in respect of losses sustained in this trade having opened our eyes, to the vast extent to which it has been carried; the oppressions of the unhappy natives that have attended the carrying it on, and which have pervaded all parts of the nabob's dominions, have convinced us, that a monopoly of the necessaries of life in any hands whatever, more especially in the hands of the English, who are possessed of such an overruling influence, is liable to the greatest abuses.

Much

Much has been urged by our servants at different times, in favour of the right to this trade, which we have always treated as a most absurd claim. The words of the firmans are, "Whatever goods the English company shall bring or carry, &c. are duty free."

To suppose that the court of Dehli could mean by these words a monopoly of the necessaries of life over their own subjects is such an absurdity, that we shall not lose time or words in trying to refute it; such a construction seems never to have been thought of till the year 1762. We do not find that lord Clive, or the gentlemen who conducted our affairs at the time of the treaty with Meer Jassier, in 1757, conceived they had acquired by those treaties any one additional privilege of trade; we had indeed, in the year 1762, some private intimations of our servants being engaged in such a trade, which we took notice of in our letter of the 19th of February, 1762, to which no reply was made, but there appeared nothing of it in our records, till a letter from the nabob Cossim Ally, in consultation, 18th October, 1762, wherein he complains of the conduct of the company's servants at Decca, in forcing the country merchants to take tobacco, and other things above the market price. Soon after, the debates on the mongheer treaty explained to us, that the English had been concerned in this trade for some years; and indeed three years possession had taught them to look upon it as a matter of right, and vindicate it as such in their negotiations with Cossim Ally Kawn.

As soon as it came to our knowledge we strictly forbade it, under the date of the 8th of February, 1764, which our governor and council took into consideration the 17th of October; though they presumed, at the same time, to carry it on in defiance to those orders.

You now desire our concurrence in it for the advantage of the company, and of the company's servants.

With respect to the company, it is neither consistent with their honour or their dignity to promote such an exclusive trade. As it is now more immediately our interest and duty to protect and cherish the inhabitants, and to give them no occasion to look on every Englishman as their national enemy, a sentiment we think such a monopoly would necessarily suggest; we cannot therefore approve the plan you have sent us for trading in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, or admit of this trade in any shape whatever, and do hereby confirm our former orders for its entire abolition. And we must here observe to you, that we continue in the same opinion which you find expressed in our letters of the 24th of December, and the 19th of February last, that every one concerned in this trade, even before receipt of our letter of the first of June, 1764, has been guilty of a breach of his covenants.

The opinions of the first lawyers in this kingdom confirm our sentiments, and whenever we receive the list of the claims for restitution, we shall then with precision know whom we are to call to account for these illicit practices. We are fully sensible, that these innovations and illegal traffic

traffic laid the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres, and confusion, which have happened of late years : we cannot suffer ourselves to indulge a thought towards the continuance of them upon any conditions whatsoever. No regulations can, in our opinion, be formed, that can be effectual to prevent the like consequences which we have seen. We consider it too, as disgraceful and below the dignity of our present situation, to allow such a monopoly. If we were to allow of it under any restrictions, we should consider ourselves as assenting and subscribing to all the mischiefs which Bengal has presented to us for these four years past. At the same time, we do not mean that the ancient duties upon these commodities, which constitute part of the revenues of Bengal, should be abolished ; but we leave the adjustment of those duties to your judgment and consideration. And here we must enjoin you to have particular regard and attention to the good of the natives, whose interest and welfare are now become our primary care ; and we earnestly recommend it to you, that you take the most effectual methods to prevent these great necessities of life from being monopolised by the rich and great amongst themselves, and by that means the poor and indigent become liable to those grievances and exactions which we mean to prevent our own people from being guilty of."

Extract

Extract of the general Consultations, dated 27th
July, 1767.

Present,
The Hon. Harry Verelst, Esq; President, &c.

“ The committee of trade sent in a letter, requesting, as the society’s exclusive right to the inland trade in the articles of salt and beetle-nut will expire the 3d of September, the board will, agreeable to the deed granted to the committee on the behalf of the proprietors, allow sufficient time for the disposal of what quantity of those articles may then remain on hand, which they imagine will be very considerable, as the contractors with the society did not begin to deliver till this month.

Agreed, the committee be acquainted in answer, that, in consequence of their representation, and the provision made in the deed, they will be allowed one year for the disposal of their concerns.”

To the Honourable Harry Verelst, Esquire, President and Governor, &c. Council of Fort-William.

“ Hon. Sir and Sirs,

“ As the term limited for the society’s exclusive right to the inland trade, in the articles of salt and beetle-nut, expires the 3d of September,
we

we are to request you will, agreeable to the deed granted to us on behalf of the proprietors, allow sufficient time for the disposal of what salt and beetle-nut may then remain in hand; of the former article, we imagine, there will be a very large quantity, as the contractors with the society for it did not begin to deliver to us till the present month.

We are,

Hon. Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient,

Fort-William,
15th July, 1767.

Humble Servants,
JOHN CARTIER, &c."

Extract of Fort-William's Consultation, the 1st of
September, 1768.

" The Hon. Harry Verelst, Esq; President.

" The general letter, under date of the 20th of November, 1767, is now read, and the following resolutions taken in consequence.

That paragraphs 88, 90, and 102, be sent to all the subordinates; and, in consequence of the tender regard and attention which the honourable company have shown to the welfare and ease of the native inhabitants, in prohibiting their servants, and all other Europeans under their protection

tection, from trading in salt, beetle-nut, or tobacco, or any other article, the produce of this country, but what is meant for exportation, it being their express intentions that the inland trade of the country shall be confined to the natives only.

It was agreed and resolved, That, from this day, the exclusive privilege of the society of the salt trade shall be at an end, and that any European who shall be found acting, either directly or indirectly, contrary to the spirit of these the company's orders, shall not only suffer confiscation of their goods, but if a company's servant, shall be dismissed the service, and if not in the service, shall forfeit the company's protection.

Ordered, That an advertisement be published to this effect, and that copies of it be transmitted to the subordinates."

To the Honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; President and Governor, &c. of the Council of Fort-William.

" Hon. Sir and Sirs,

" The society of trade send in a letter, accompanied with an extract of one from their agent at Durbunga, wherein they are advised, that their sales of salt in that district have been almost put a stop to by the company's gomastahs making salt in the petre-pans; acquainting us, that some time ago they received a complaint of the like nature, and applying to the chief of Patna for redress; but as his orders have proved ineffectual, they
request

request we will direct an enquiry to be made into the conduct of the petre gomastahs ; and if what they are accused of should be proved, they hope we will order them to be punished, and made accountable of the salt they have sold, and the salt that has been boiled in the petre-pans, and is not yet disposed of : that we further desire, he cause publication to be made throughout the Tor-hote country, prohibiting all persons making any salt in those districts.

We are, with respect,

Hon. Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient,

Fort-William,
April 27, 1768.

I Humble Servants,

JOHN CARTIER, &c."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Pitt Lecheulier to the Committee of Trade, 21st March, 1768.

" Your favours of the 27th of January have been duly honoured with, and do assure you I have, and do use all manner of prudent methods to dispose of your salt ; and it is no small concern to me, to think I have not in all this time been able to make any greater progress therein ; but till all the country salt which has been made this current year, as well as part of that made last year, is sufficiently run off, I cannot expect to make any great hand in the sale of your salt, for all the bazars in this district are full of this country

try salt, which the petre gomastahs sell at 2 and 2½ rupees per maund, and all this through the convenience of the phoufdars and jaghecdars, who have a fellow feeling therein; and I have it not in my power to prevent it, and cannot help saying, I think those people will not readily desist from giving sufficient encouragement with only a bare order from Patna, when any one will but consider the lucrative gains those people must make by it, who will sell father and mother for profit; or whether they will not try to hinder the making of as much petre as can be made, by which they can get nothing, for the company pays only 1½ rupees per maund for petre. I wrote to Mr. Rombold ever since the 30th of October last, that the only method I could think of to prevent effectually their making of salt, was to beat the Tomtoms all over the Jerhove, where they made the petre, forbidding them making of salt, but to make it all into petre; and, at the same time, en passant the Tomtoms, to beat the buzars, forbidding those people from buying such salt of the Carnonna people; and wrote him, if he would send me his orders to perwannah to that effect, I would see it put into execution if he thought proper; for it is, as said before, the interest of the different Phoufdars, Jaghecdars, in whose jurisdiction these Carconnas lay, and the petre gomastahs, that no orders from Patna shall be put in force, and of course such orders are not brought to light.

The Amin, who has been sent from Patna to inspect into this affair, found on his progress, almost all the Carconna's making of salt instead of petre, though

though there has been sent repeated orders to the contrary, and he also forbid them, yet no sooner was his back turned, but they fell to making of salt afresh, which the company's petre gomastah, (Eman Bux) here sells in the buzar at 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per maund. The Carconna people had rather make salt than petre, because the one is not near the labour, or at least does not take so much boiling as the other does ; besides, the petre is not only rupees $1\frac{1}{2}$ per maund, which is the company's price as I am informed ; so that it is evident, they all combine in making of salt for the sake of the profits arising therefrom, which they share amongst them, to the no small detriment of the company's investment of salt-petre ; and as long as this is the practice, I must repeat again, I cannot expect to sell any great quantity of your salt, till this country salt is pretty well consumed, and they discontinue making it. It makes me very uneasy, to see almost all the shops in Durbunga full of the said commodity, and am informed it is so all over this district. There has been run in upon me in this district, over and above what has been made, about 20,000 maunds ; so that I reckon in the whole here has been disposed in all 80,000 maunds within the compass of one year ; and am informed the French are sending now some boats loaded with salt, from Charnagore, when the jalanghee opens. In short, all these things put together, I beg leave to lay before you, gentlemen for your serious consideration, and, at the same time to demonstrate, it is no way my fault your salt has not hitherto been sold, and wish from my heart sin-

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cerely,

cerely, it lay in my power to dispose of it in a day's time."

To Thomas Rumbold, Esq; chief of Patna, dated the 4th of May.

SIR,

The gentlemen of the society of trade have represented to us in a letter, which we now inclose to you, that their sales of salt in the Dunbunga district have been almost put an entire stop to by the company's salt-petre, gomastah's making salt in the petre-pans.

We therefore desire that you will make the strictest enquiry into the conduct of these gomastahs, and not only punish with the utmost severity those who may be found guilty of the crime they are accused of, and have presumed to act thus contrary to the repeated orders, but also make them accountable for the salt they have sold, and likewise confiscate the salt that has been boiled in the petre pans, and is not yet disposed of, which you will please to deliver to Mr. Letheulier, the society's agent.

We further desire that you will cause publication to be made throughout the Torhote country, prohibiting all persons from making any salt, directly or indirectly in those districts.

To the honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president and governor, &c. council of Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I have received your letter of the fourth instant, inclosing a copy of the representation from
Mr.

Mr. Letheulier to the committee of trade, of the losses suffered by the society from the quantity of salt made and vended in the Jerhut districts, by the company's salt-petre gomastahs.

I must beg leave to observe, that this account is exaggerated to the highest degree; from my knowledge of the quantity of salt-petre there made, I am certain it is impossible so much salt could be produced; and to shew how little detriment the investment has met with, it need only be remarked, that there has of late been an increase, not deficiency in the article of salt-petre.

From the refuse of the petre, an inconsiderable quantity of salt has always been made, which yielded some duty to the fouzdar, who will complain on a total prohibition, and demand some deductions in the rents. However, pursuant to your orders, I will shortly dispatch a proper person in that country, to make strict enquiry into it, and punish the gomastahs, if they are found deserving of it.

I am,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Patna,
19th May, 1768.

Your most obedient

Humble servant.

Thomas Rombold.

At

At a consultation, 11 August, 1768:

Present,

The honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president, &c.

The board have taken into consideration the regulations under which the court of directors have ordered the salt trade to be laid open, and the necessary measures to be pursued to carry them into execution, came to the following resolution upon the 92 paragraph of their general letter of the 20th of November.

The collector-general be desired to obtain as exact an account, as he possibly can, of the number of colleries in the Calcutta purgunnahs and the company's lands, and in the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, and lay a return of them before the board.

That every collery be distinguished by some mark or number, as well that they may be distinctly known by each person who bids for them at public sale, to prevent any disputes when they are delivered over to their respective purchasers.

That the colleries be put up to sale on the 20th of October next, and that the purchasers shall engage to bring the salt from the colleries where it is made to one of these two public marts, viz. Rajar-Barry, Barnagore, or such other places as may hereafter be fixed on, but to either of them as may suit their conveniencies.

Agreed, That a copy of this resolution and the 92d paragraph of the company's letter, be sent to the
the

the collector-general, that he may put the same into execution, and also to the resident at the durbar, desiring him to recommend to the administration at Murshadabad the same mode of disposing of the colleries under the nabob's jurisdiction, as the company have prescribed to us, and to obtain an account of, and distinguish in the like manner as we have directed to be done in the company's lands, the number of those colleries, and furnish us with the same as soon as possible.

The duty to be levied on this trade for the government, the regulations, and restrictions under which it is to be carried on, in order to prevent individuals of our own and foreign nations interfering in it, are the next objects of our consideration, and points of most material consequence.

Agreed, therefore, before we come to a determination regarding them, that a committee be appointed to consist of Messrs. Cartier, Becher, and Russel, to consider on the rest of the general letter relative to this trade, and that they be requested to inform themselves of every particular circumstance which they think may enable us to adopt a plan, the most eligible for carrying on this important trade, conformable to the spirit and meaning of the company's orders, and lay the same before us as soon as they have obtained every necessary information for this purpose.

At

At a consultation, October 7, 1768.

Present,
The honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president, &c,

The book of standing orders on the table.
The consultation of the 5th instant read and approved.

The committee appointed for laying down a plan, and proposing regulations for carrying on the inland trade in salt, conformable to the spirit and meaning of the company's orders, having finished their deliberations on this subject, lay the same before the board, which were accordingly here read:

To the honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president and governor, &c. council of Fort William.

Honoured Sir and Sirs,

“ We have been favoured with your secretary's letter of the 11th ultimo, enclosing the paragraphs of the honourable company's general letter of the 20th of November, relating to the inland trade in salt, which you were pleased to refer to our consideration, desiring us to inform ourselves of every circumstance that we thought might enable you to adopt a plan the most eligible for carrying that trade, conformable to the spirit and meaning of the company's orders.

In consequence of your directions, we have been making the necessary enquiry, and we now beg
leave

leave to lay before you what appears to us best calculated for the purpose.

We would recommend, that an advertisement be issued, agreeable to the company's orders, contained in the 99th and 101st paragraphs of their letter, that no person may hereafter plead ignorant of them.

An advertisement has already been issued, relating to the salt of the collieries in the company's lands, but before they are put to sale, the merchants should be acquainted, that they will not be allowed to raise the price of salt at Calcutta and Rajahbaharry, above sicca rupees 110 per maund of 80 sicca weight, (which the 30 sicca rupees duties, is the highest price allowed by the company) otherwise they may hereafter complain, that they advanced in the price for the purchase of the collieries, on a supposition that they would not be restricted in their sales of the salt.

As the honourable company have only restricted the merchants in the selling price of their salt at Calcutta and Rajahbaharry, we have thought proper to submit to you, whether it would not be conducive to answer the spirit of their orders, if it were recommended to the country government to fix the price of salt at the principal markets throughout the country in the same manner as it is done here, and at Rajahbaharry, allowing a reasonable profit to the purchasers from our marts.

The creek opposite to Barnagore (called Ballee Creek) recommended by the court of directors, we find from a survey made by the master attendant, and one of the honourable company's surveyor's, as per Mr. Rinnell's draft, transmitted herewith,

with, to be very proper for lodging the salt brought up from the Ingellee Misadant, &c. districts, and the company's lands, as well as convenient for the merchants, who transport it up the country, to load their boats ; we also find Rajabaharry, from a report made by the society of trade's agent at that place, very proper for lodging the salt produced to the eastward.

We find from enquiry, that the greatest quantity of salt received by the society of trade in one year, was 29,36,420-6-10, as that was in a remarkable favourable season, we only took 28,00000 for fixing the duty ordered by the company to be collected on the salt disposed of at Ballee Creek, Rajabaharry, and what is transported through the the pachet passes, the rates of the duty on that quantity to produce 100,000 pounds sterling, at the exchange of 2s. 3d. per current rupee, is sicca rupees 27 5 10½, but in order that the company may receive the sum stipulated by them, though the season for manufacturing salt should be unfavourable, we recommend that the duty be fixed at sicca rupees 30 per 100 maunds, to be paid by the purchasers.

We recommend that Mr. Sykes be desired to fix on a proper place for collecting the duty upon salt that is transported up the country from Burdwan and Midnapore, through the pachet passes, and to have proper chokies stationed in all parts, by which boats may pass, and salt be transported to a market without being first lodged at Rajabaharry or Ballee Creek, and in order to prevent as much as possible salt being clandestinely transported, we would have no salt moved from the cheers, but with proper

per wannah's, specifying the quantity of salt and number of boats; to be granted by the country government, the chief of the next factory, or the collector-general, each for the districts under them.

Weekly returns of these per wannah's should be transmitted to a person to be appointed at Calcutta for that purpose, who is to enter them in a general register, and we would have peons sent with the per wannahs as at present with the dustucks; and a register kept of the arrival of salt at the different markets, to be transmitted weekly to Calcutta, to be entered into the register there.

We observe, that the company have ordered in the 100th paragraph of their general letter, that foreign salt shall pay a duty equal to this country salt; we beg leave to point out to you, that foreign salt is an article not allowed to pass with the benefit of a dustuck, but pays the company's customs at Calcutta, and the governments duty at Hughley; if those duties are increased, and at the same time, country salt lowered in its price, it will be a discouragement in general to shipping, and may in the end be detrimental to the company by their not finding a vend for the salt made at Masulipatam, and their lands on the coasts; the levying the duty ordered by the company, will also be a great hardship on the poor of this country, as they now purchase foreign salt at a price 50 to 60 rupees per maunds less than the salt manufactured in Bengal; and as the quantity of foreign salt imported here, does not prevent the whole of what is produced in the country being consumed, the company will not suffer in their duties by it; we there-

fore recommend that no increase be made on the duty now collected on foreign salt.

We understand that advances were made for the making salt, before the advertisement was issued, advising that the collaries would be put up to public sale ; such advances we think, should be made good by the purchaser ; and we therefore recommend that it be made known to the merchants before the sale ; besides, the sum due to the merchants for advances made this year, there will be, we imagine, outstanding balances due from the Molungees to the merchants who contracted with them for the salt of last season ; these balances, we are of opinion, should not fall on the purchasers of the collaries ; but as the merchant will have a claim for them, it will be necessary to publish before the sale of the collaries, that the Molungees only will be responsible to the merchant for those balances, and be obliged to answer, according to the custom of the country, for what appears to be justly due from them.

The collaries in Burdwan province were at the letting of the Burdwan lands, last June, rented by the farmers as part of their farms, for a lease of three years ; though the lease does not invest them with the exclusive privilege of making salt, yet it is doubtless, that it was with a view to that emolument, that they increased their offers for the lands, and if the collaries are not deducted from their farms they will naturally claim a deduction from the last increase : and we recommend that it be adjusted with the farmers before the sale of the collaries.

Mr.

Mr. Becher, the collector-general, has acquainted us, that the farmers of the three pergunnah's have sent down remonstrances, which are translating, and will be laid before you.

In the Midnapore districts, the collaries are excluded in the zemindars sunnuds, and they have been used to look upon them as their own property, if they are not taken from them. It will be necessary either to grant an equivalent or allow a deduction in their rents ; but as we are of opinion, that it would be subversive of their natural right, to take the collaries from them, and therefore unpolitic, we would recommend that the zemindars be allowed to work them, and be obliged to contract with the merchants for the salt that is manufactured, and not to let one person contract for more than the quantity which may be limited by him to the collector-general ; we imagine, that this method will answer the company's intentions equally with the collaries being sold at outcry, and the the merchants who contract, to transport it to one of the public marts fixed on.

Such, gentlemen, are the regulations that at present appear to us most likely to answer the intentions of the honourable the court of directors ; but as they differ widely from all former customs, we must leave time to prove, how far they are practicable or proper ; indeed, we can foresee many difficulties in putting them into execution, upon so short notice, of an entire change in the general system of carrying on this extensive trade ; nor is it improbable that many points may escape us, which on experience may be found to be material ; it was our intentions on this occasion to have collected and digested

digested the opinions of the principal native inhabitants, which might have possibly furnished many useful lights, but the sudden departure of Messieurs Cartier and Russell, and the multiplicity of business on the hands of the gentlemen of the committee in their other departments, have not allowed us time to have the advantage of such assistance: however, we hope, what we now have the honour to submit to your consideration, will with your amendments answer the end purposed, until a twelve-month's trial make it more perfect and compleat.

We are with respect,

Honoured Sir and Sirs,

Fort William,
21st Sept. 1768.

Your most obedient

Humble servants.

JOHN CARTIER, &c,

As the salt made last year is now moving from the cheers, and no duty hath been established on it, nor any regulations made regarding the disposal of it, the board are of opinion, that previous to their resolutions on the committee's letter, these circumstances should be attended to. And the same having been maturely considered,

Agreed, That we write to the resident at the durbar, to recommend to the ministers to issue their orders for putting in execution the regulations we propose with regard to the disposal of this salt, and which are as follows;

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That a duty on it of 30 sicca rupees per 100 maunds, be collected at Hughley and Rajahabarry, and that the government's officers employed in the collection of this duty, grant perwannahs on the receipt thereof, specifying the quantity of salt, the person it belongs to, and the amount of duties collected, which shall then pass to the different marts it may be intended for, free of every other duty. And that this duty be collected as the salt is brought to either of the first-named places, by those who import it,

That the strictest orders be given to all other chokiers not to collect any further duty or toll on any salt, for which such perwannahs shall be produced, and to prevent any smuggling: all salt attempted to be passed without such perwannahs shall be confiscated.

That the most public notice be issued in all parts, that after the payment of the above duty, no other shall be collected under pain of the severest punishments. And,

In order that the intentions of these regulations, which are meant solely for the ease and convenience of the natives, may not be frustrated.

Agreed, That we recommend to the resident at the durbar, that at the same time he proposes them to the ministers, he will also most earnestly recommend to them to prevent as much as possible, a monopoly at any of the markets.

As there are frequent means found by individuals to convey salt out of the provinces of Midnapore and Burdwan, through the hills into Bahar; and in order to prevent this practice,

Agreed,

Agreed, That the collector-general be desired to write to the rajah of Burdwan, to grant rowannahs for all salt that may be sent through that district, on the persons to whom it belongs, paying the stipulated duty of thirty sicca rupees per maunds, and to give public notice, that all salt which may or shall be found without these rowannahs shall be confiscated. That the collector-general be further desired to issue these regulations to the resident at Midnapore, that the like precautions be taken in his districts, and to transmit them also to Chittagong.

Agreed also, That we acquaint the chief of Patna with these regulations, and desire that he will request the officers of the government to take such measures as will most effectually prevent any salt being brought into the province of Bahar, in a clandestine manner, and to seize and confiscate whatever quantity may by any means be conveyed into the provinces without these rowannahs : and that it be particularly mentioned to the resident at the durbar, the collector-general and chief of Patna, that these restrictions are meant only for the salt that was made last season, and not that belonging to the committee of trade, which will always be distinguished by its having had a dustuck.

The board then proceeded to take into mature consideration the orders and directions of the honourable the court of directors, contained in their letter of the twentieth of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, as also the commendations of the committee appointed to establish a plan, for the better and more fully putting into execution the above orders ; and the following paragraphs

paragraphs were now read, 91 to 104. In answer to paragraph 91, the board resolved, that whatever plan may be adopted, the ease and convenience of the natives, the cheapness of salt in every part of the country, the preventing of every oppression, and the interest of our employers, in the preservation of an equitable and reasonable duty, shall be their primary objects.

In the 920 paragraph of this letter, the honourable the court of directors have thought proper to order the collaries to be put up to public sale.

The board have ever been, and always shall be particularly attentive to the orders and instructions of the honourable the court of directors. They shall strictly adhere and confirm, as far as lies in their power, to the regulations laid down by them, for carrying on this important trade ; and nothing but a thorough conviction, that too rigid a regard to their orders might prove prejudicial to the interest of the company, could prevail upon, or induce them to deviate in a single point from their commands ; they find themselves however, under this necessity, in regard to disposing of the collaries in the manner that hath been prescribed, as it appears from the extract of some letters which the collector-general now lays before us, and are entered after the consultation, that they cannot put in execution this part of the plan laid down by the court of directors, without an actual and considerable diminution of the company's revenues in the provinces of Burdwan and Midnapore ; for in the former districts, the farmers who rented the collaries there, as part of the farms at the last general settlement on three years leases, have very just claims
to

to them, and have already remonstrated, as appears by the petitions which the collector-general now lays before us for our information. In the latter, the collaries are included in the zemindars fund, and have ever been considered as their own property, equally with their lands and habitations.

It is therefore evident, that by putting up the collaries in Burdwan and Midnapore, at public sale, we deprive the farmers of the privilege of making salt, and of course that emolument which hath enabled them to encrease their offers for the land; and that such a deduction from their farms will consequently lead them to claim a deduction from their annual rents; and that we shall take away from the zemindars in the Midnapore province what actually forms a part of their zemindaries, and from the profits of which they are principally enabled to pay the company's malguzary's, which liberty the committee of trade were particularly attentive to when acting for the society.

However, supposing that equity would allow of our dispossessing the several present renters of these collaries, yet justice must induce us to account to them for the old balances due from the molungees, as well as the advances made to them for the present year, which for the more accurate information of our honourable masters, we shall state from what they have already experienced in their Calcutta lands, as stands on the proceedings of the committee of lands. When it was deemed proper to establish those collaries on a new system, it was thought equitable, that the old balances due from the molungees to the former renters, should
be

be first made good, the accounts are accordingly delivered in, and, notwithstanding a rigid scrutiny, amounted to no less rupees 533,045 : 11 : 3. Now, supposing the same to be done in Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and the government's lands, and we estimate the first claims of the whole on a proportion with the Calcutta lands, it will stand thus : If an annual produce of six lacks of maunds of salt (the quantity calculated to be made on these lands) have formed a debt of old balances of rupees 533,045 : 11 : 3, what will the remainder produce on the other lands, estimated at 22 lacks, yield ? Answer, the sum of rupees 1,954,500 : 14 : 6, which must be accounted for, should the orders in the above 92d paragraph, for publicly disposing of the collaries, be put into execution. The estimate we judge to be considerably below the demands that would be made for outstanding balances, should the collaries be put up to sale, from the very unfavourable season of last year, owing to the constant rain that fell, which prevented the molungees working out half the advances made from the former year for that purpose.

The increase of the revenue made on the Calcutta colonies, fictitiously reimbursed the company, the amount paid by them fictitiously, because the same increase might have been made, and the company have reaped that advantage, had no balance been to be paid. The collaries in every other part have already kept pace in the increase of their rents as the above ; how then are the company to be reimbursed this sum ? The duty they have directed to be levied, does already

amount to 30 rupees per $\frac{1}{2}$ maunds ; a further tax must destroy the directors grand objects, the ease and convenience of the natives, by enhancing the price of salt. Another very material objection to the above orders of our masters, is, the infringement of the liberty of the molungees, which has been so greatly apprehended by themselves, as set forth in their petitions on the publication of our intentions of a sale of the collaries. The sale of any spot of land, for the working any particular number of collaries, cannot answer any purpose, unless we insure to the purchaser the service of those who are to work them : and should such men offer as are obnoxious to the molungees, how are they to be supported ? Force must oblige them to the work, or the purchaser fall short in his rents.

For these reasons, therefore, it is the unanimous opinion of the board, That the collaries in these districts should not be put up to sale ; an opinion that they are the more inclined to, from the consideration, that though they cannot act up to the literal orders of the court of directors, without any evident disadvantage to the company, yet that they shall not deviate from the spirit and meaning of them ; and that, by the regulations they now propose for carrying on the salt trade, they shall be enabled to put it on an equitable and just footing, as the court of directors have proposed, without subjecting them to the inconveniences that they have here pointed out ; and their regulations are ; first, That every zemindar, or landholder, whose claims on collaries are granted to him by funnud ; and also, all farmers on lease

lease shall continue to enjoy the benefit of working them, but they shall be restricted by bond and penalty, not to dispose of a larger quantity of maunds, fifty thousand to any one purchaser : they are to keep an account of every sale, which must be weekly transmitted to the sudaehr, or head cutcheries of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, there to be recorded, and reference made on any scrutiny which may be deemed necessary in regard to persons, quantity, or price, which may accrue to prevent monopolies.

Secondly, That an entire freedom be granted to all other merchants, natives of the country, of the casts of Moors, or Gentoos, for renting and working all other collaries whatever, provided no one person, directly, or indirectly, makes a larger quantity than maunds fifty thousand. The restricting in quantity, we deem more consonant to the wishes of our masters, then in collaries, they being of such different sizes as to yield from one hundred to three hundred maunds each ; and, in order to encourage the molungees to their duty, to diffuse among the merchants this liberty, and to prevent confusion or disputes one with another, every merchant must engage himself in his service the molungees, whom he must bring to the nearest public cutcherry to be examined whether they are free from all other engagements ; and it is voluntarily, that they themselves enter into his service, when their names and residence must be registered, with the name and residence of the merchant to whom they engage ; which engagement is to last for one year only, and the zemindar of each district is directed to lend every

every assistance to secure to such merchants the attentive service of such molungees, and again, to see that the merchant strictly conforms to his engagements with the molungees : and, in case any one merchant should seduce, or attempt to seduce, any molungee from another merchant, he shall be fined as the case may merit. The molungee thus engaged for one year, shall not be liable, after the expiration of that time, to be called upon for further service by the merchant, unless voluntarily, and for no balances whatever, after the expiration of the approaching season. But in consideration of the very heavy balances due from the molungees to the merchants, on account of the last year's advances, they are to have the preference of the molungees services for this season.—The above register of merchants and molungees to be sent weekly to the several head cutcherries, in order that public licence may be granted to the merchant for entertaining the molungees registered.—The officer of each district is also to keep an account of all salt made therein, and by whom, and to send the same to the head cutcherry, there to be recorded weekly ; and it is strictly recommended to prevent as much as possible any one family to set off merchants combining together, or in any shape establishing a monopoly.

Thirdly, No salt to be removed from any chur without a rowannah from the resident, or collector general, specifying the proprietor's name of such salt, the quantity and number of boats in which it is transported by water ; if by land, then

then the number of bullocks, and by whatever means else it is transported.

That weekly returns of the rowannahs granted by the collector general, shall be transmitted to, and entered by him in a general register : and that peons shall be sent with the rowannahs as at present with the dustucks, and a register kept of the arrival of salt at the different markets in the company's lands, to be transmitted weekly to the collector, to be entered in his register.

If any boats are found smuggling salt, the same to be confiscated to the government, boat and salt ; and any boat having salt on board, hoisting English colours, pretending to an English dustuck, or having more salt on board than specified in the rowannahs, shall be liable to confiscation, together with the cargo, and the nabob's ministers will seize the same as forfeited to the government.

That all salt produced at Ingelee, Mysadaul, &c. districts, and the company's lands, shall be carried to and landed at Bullubreck, which is found, upon a survey by Mr. Regnal, to be a very proper place ; and that all salt produced to the eastward shall be brought to Rajahbarry, which hath also been reported to us very proper for lodging the salt at.

That the same sum of thirty sicca rupees per one hundred maunds, shall be the duty to be collected from the importer on all salt brought to Ballec Creek, or Rajahbarry, in order to secure the company the stipulated revenue of one hundred thousand pounds, which, upon a calculation

lation this duty will afford, even should the season prove unfavourable for manufacturing salt.

The board agree in opinion with the committee, That the price of salt at these two places should not exceed more than one hundred sicca rupees per $\frac{1}{2}$ maunds. But as we have resolved the duty of thirty sicca rupees per $\frac{1}{2}$ maunds shall be levied from the importer, and not the purchaser.

That the price of salt shall be fixed at one hundred and forty sicca rupees per $\frac{1}{2}$ maunds.

That no increase of duty shall now be made on what is now collected on foreign salt, for the reasons assigned by the committee.

As these regulations are formed with the strictest regard to the ease and convenience of the native, and such as we judge will enable them to carry on this important trade on the easiest terms, and the least liable to oppression.

Agreed, that we transmit a copy of those for the last as well as the ensuing season, to the resident at the durbar, and desire him to recommend to the ministers to adopt and follow the same.

Agreed also, that the regulations for the ensuing year be transmitted to Patna, Decca, and Cossimbuzar. And,

Ordered, that the collector general be furnished with a copy of the consultation, in order that he may introduce the same in the districts under his inspection.

As there are still several matters unadjusted by the committee of trade, and balances to be collected on account of the society, which renders it necessary that the committee should subsist for some

some time longer ; and as there are two vacancies by the absence of Messrs. Cartier and Russell.

Agreed, That one of them be filled by Mr. Charlton.

Agreed also, That he be appointed a member the committee of aurungs, military paymaster-general, and mint-master, and that he take charge of these offices the first of next month ; and,

Ordered, That the secretary transmit him his appointments.

(Signed) H. Verelst, &c.

To Thomas Rumbold, Esq; chief of Patna.

S I R,

“ Enclosed we transmit you a copy of some regulations we have this day made, regarding the disposal of the salt made last year, and the duty to be collected on it. And we desire, that you will earnestly recommend to the officers of the government at Patna, to have these regulations strictly attended to. But we must here observe to you, that these restrictions are meant only for the salt that was made last season, and not for that belonging to the committee of trade, which will always be distinguished by having had a dustuck.

Fort William,
7 October, 1768.

We are, &c.”

To

To Francis Sykes, Esq; resident at the Durbar

S I R,

“ Inclosed we transmit you a plan we have this day laid down for conducting the inland trade in salt for the ensuing season, in confidence of the orders of the honourable the court of directors, in their letter of the twentieth of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven. And as the regulations we have herein proposed are formed with the strictest regard to the ease and convenience of the natives ; as they are such as we judge will enable them to carry on this important trade on the easiest terms, and the least liable to oppression.

We desire that you will earnestly recommend to the ministers to adopt this plan in jurisdiction of the nabob's government : We also desire that you will recommend to them to carry into execution, the regulations which we have likewise enclosed regarding the salt trade last year ; and we must here observe to you, that these restrictions are meant only for the salt that was made last season, and not that belonging to the committee of trade, which will always be distinguished by having had a dustuck.

Fort William,
7th October, 1768.

We are, &c.”

To

To Thomas Rumbold, Esq; chief, &c. council of
Patna.

Gentlemen,

“ Enclosed we transmit to you a plan we have this day laid down for conducting the inland trade in salt, for the ensuing season, in consequence of the orders of the honourable the court of directors, in their letter of the 20th of November 1767, and desire that you will pay the strictest regard and attention to the regulations we have herein proposed, and see that they are strictly conformed to, as far as lies in your power.

Fort William,
7th October, 1768.

We are, &c.

Fort William, the 7th October, 1768.

At a general Consultation.

Present,
The honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president, &c.

Extracts of letters from the residents of Burdwan, and Midnapore, to the collector-general, in answer to the orders transmitted to them, to give public notice, that the collaries of those districts would be sold at public outcry, on the twentieth of October 1768, in conformity of the orders of the collector-general received from the president and council upon that subject, under date of the 11th of August.

VOL. IV.

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From

From Mr. John Graham, resident at Burdwan,
under the date of the 20th of August, 1768.

The advertisement in relation to the salt trade is drawing up, and shall be published this day, and the list of the collaries within this province shall be sent to you as soon as possible. The further directions, that you promise me before the day of sale, will, I hope, be full and explicit, so as to direct how the balance due the contractors of last year, and the advances that may have been already made in this, are to be settled and made good; also, in what manner the objections and claims of the farmers are to be answered, who rented those collaries as part of their farms at the last general statement on three years leases. These leases do not by any means invest them with the exclusive privilege of making the salt, but it is doubtless with a view to that emolument that they increase their offers for the land, and now that the collaries are to be deducted from their farms, they will be naturally led to claim a deduction from the last increase.

September the 9th.

The farmers of the districts where the collaries are situated, have presented petitions to me, setting forth the infringement on their engagements, and the prejudice to the business of their farms, that will result from the resolutions of putting the salt-pans up to public sale. I have promised that I would submit them to their consideration, and you will find them accordingly here inclosed. As
far

far as I am master of the subject; their arguments I own carry weight with me, and the rajah's officers have repeatedly expressed themselves to me in the same terms; as to the detriment they think the introducing a double authority over the ryotts will be productive to the revenue of that part of the province, they mention a parallel case in the administration of Rajah Manickchund, who actually rendered the salt of the Mundligaut Pergunner a distinct farm from the lands, but before the end of three years, was glad to re-unite them, and obliged to admit a deduction of rupees, fifty-six thousand, for the damage the district had sustained, owing to the same persons occupying the double possession of ryotts and molangees, as set forth in the petition of the present farmers.

From Mr. George Vanfittart, resident at Midnapore, under date the 22d of August, 1768.

I know not whether the court of directors, in their orders concerning the salt, have been aware that the collaries in the Midnapore and Jallifore provinces, are included in the zemindar's sunnuds, or whether they think those sunnuds may be justly dispensed with; if the latter, the zemindars have only to submit, but that they will not do it, I imagine, without giving a good deal of trouble first with their complaints; if the former might not answer the purpose of diffusing the salt amongst as many hands as possible be answered by an order, being published, that no one should contract for above a limited quantity; that a list of all the contractors should, on a certain day, be delivered

in to the resident, and transmitted to the collector general, and that the contractors should engage to carry the salt to one of the public marts which have been fixed upon.

September 14th.

Several petitions have been delivered to me by the zemindars, in consequence of the orders for putting up the collaries to outcry. Their contents are such as I cannot myself give them any answer to. I propose therefore to transmit them all for your observation and directions, together with the list of collaries, a few days hence.

October 3d.

Inclosed I transmit you a list of the collaries in the provinces of Midnapore and Jallifore, and in order to convey a clearer idea of their produce, I have divided them into three classes. In the first, are comprehended all such as usually yield two hundred maunds, or upwards; in the second, those which usually yield between two hundred and one hundred and fifty; and in the third, those which yield less than one hundred and fifty. I likewise inclose for your observation, a petition which I received from the zemindars of Beercool; petitions on the same subject have also been presented to me by the other zemindars, but as their purport is entirely the same, it is needless to trouble you with them. The following you will observe to be the substance of what they plead in their behalf:

“ That the collaries from a part of their zemindars

dars are included in their funnuds, and have ever since been considered as their own property ; that it is merely by the profits thereof they are enabled to pay the company's malguzarris ; that considerable quantities of salt are due from them to different merchants, and large sums of money have been lent them upon the credit of their collaries, and if their collaries are now taken from them, it will be totally out of their power either to pay their revenue, fulfil their contracts, or satisfy their creditors." I request to be favoured with your directions on these circumstances, and likewise regarding the conduct necessary to be observed with respect to the molangees. The same people being ryotts of the zemindars, and employed in the business of cultivation, as well as that of making salt, many disputes may probably arise concerning them, between the zemindars and the purchasers of the collaries.

The purport of the two petitions delivered to the collector-general by the following Burdwan farmers :

Callipurfaud Mozundar, farmer of Pergunnah Calloor ; Kishnarum Boy, farmer of the Pergunnah Barace.

The petitioners represent that they took the above pergunnahs to farm at the pooneah held in June last, for a term of years ; that in these farms both the collary and malt revenues were necessarily included, as well, because it has ever been customary, as that at some seasons, the collary grounds are cultivated for paddy, and other grain ;

grain ; that in reliance the collary grounds would not be separated from their farms, and the salt trade being laid open last year, very considerable advances had been made by the merchants to the molangees, so then the re-letting the collaries in the manner proposed, will not only manifestly injure both the merchants and farmers, but will also greatly oppress the ryotts, and occasion a desertion of the molangees, which must sensibly affect the honourable company's revenues, wherefore they pray their case may be taken into consideration.

To Richard Becher, Esq. collector-general.

The humble petition of Shibnarain Chaturgy, farmer of Mudligaut Pergunnah, in the province of Burdwan.

Sheweth,

That at the pooneah held in June last year, your petitioner took the above pergunnah to farm, together with Govindpore's mall, the Mahal shair, and salt collaries belonging to it, all which he had grant for three years; that in August following, public proclamation was made by the resident, that all the salt collaries in the province of Burdwan were to be sold at public outcry, to the best bidder, the 20th of October, in lots consisting of five collaries each ; that in consequence, the 14th of August, three gomastahs were sent by the resident to take an account of the before-mentioned collaries included in your petitioner's farm, a practice altogether unprecedented, as the farmers

mers heretofore ever been accustomed to place an entire faith and confidence in the gentlemen's grants and agreements, always concluded their farms to be secured to them, whilst no malconduct could be laid to their charge.

Your petitioner further represents, that the collary and mal-rents of his farm have always been considered as inseparable, the same being held both grounds, and paying the rent thereof to one farmer; and this usage being of long standing, your petitioner apprehends the ryotts will not easily be prevailed upon to hold the mall distinct from the collary farms, at least compulsive measures must be used, the consequence of which will be a considerable desertion of the ryotts, and diminution of the honourable company's revenues.

Your petitioner humbly prays, that you will be pleased to take his case into consideration, and render him justice. And your petitioner will ever pray, &c.

To the hon. Harry Verelst, Esq. president and governor, &c. council of Fort William, in Bengal.

The humble petition of the salt molangees of Hattagur Burriddatt, Moora Gaffah, Muddennull, Shawpore, Azamabad, &c. twenty-four pergunnahs belonging to the hon. company.

Humbly Sheweth,

That, in former times, when the said pergunnahs belonged to black zemindars, your petitioners

tioners commonly used to receive money or salt from the merchants at your petitioners own record. In the same manner they continued for some years, after the said pergunnahs belonged to the honourable company ; and also after the said salt-pans, or collaries, were taken out of the gentlemen's hands, who last year quitted the said collaries ; since which, your petitioners expected to carry on their trade in the same manner as aforesaid, to receive money from whom they thought proper ; but your petitioners being informed that your honour, &c. council, are willing to divide the salt pans amongst several merchants, and likewise to put up the said collaries to outcry by lots, at five collaries in a lot ; in such case, your petitioners are sure to be ruined by the merchants, who will not only make your petitioners their slaves, but all your petitioners' families.

Therefore, if your honour, &c. council, think proper to divide the salt collaries among the merchants, and put them up at outcry, your petitioners have no objections to it, but that the said merchants be ordered to employ in their service only such molangees as may willingly accept of their money, and that they be not permitted to force your petitioners ; and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

To the hon. Harry Verelst, Esq. president and governor, &c. council.

The humble petition of the salt merchants.

Humbly sheweth,

That your honours have been pleased to advertise the sale of the colaries, five in a lot, and no person

person to have above thirty lots ; whereas it formerly was the custom that molungees should contract with whom they pleased to make their salt, and those that had balances on them used to take less money for the year following to make salt, and pay off what they could ; and some of the molungees used to make salt themselves, and sell to the merchants, which was advantageous both for the molungees and the merchants ; and formerly, the rent for every collary was about six or seven rupees, but your honours have increased it to thirty rupees, and servants to pay for six months, seven rupees, which was not sufficient for them. The molungees and servants never served willingly, but by force, for which reason there was not so many collarics as in former times ; but now as the honourable company have been pleased to bestow this contract on the natives, last year we advanced money, but by the rain the molungees could not give all, and a great balance remained on them ; and for this year we were obliged to advance some money for their maintainance, and making salt again. And now as your honours have advertised that the collarics will be sold, if so, it will entirely ruin us. Again we are further informed, that your honours will fix a price of salt for sale, but as according to our year's production, so the price settles some years more, and some years less ; if your petitioners sell by the settled price we shall be ruined.

Therefore your petitioners humbly implore, that your honours may be pleased to take our case into your serious consideration, and order that the salt contracts may continue as before, both for ma-

king and selling it, and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Extract of a general letter from Bengal, dated the
23d of November, 1769.

Par. 18. In the 107th paragraph of our letter of the 25th of September last, we had the pleasure to acquaint you, that the balance of the accounts of the society of trade amounting to current rupees, 137,121, had been paid into your treasury ; and we have now the honour to enclose you copies of their accounts.

Extract of Bengal general consultations, dated the
3d of October, 1769.

Present,
The honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president, &c.

Read the following letter to the society of trade.

To the honourable Harry Verelst, Esq; president
and governor, &c. council of Fort William.

Honoured Sir and Sirs,

“ We have now the honour to enclose to you the following accounts, relating to the duties on salt and beetle-nut, from the society of trade. A.

Accounts of salt received by the society of trade, A.

General invoice of Beetle-nut purchased by the Chittagong factory. Account of the society of trade, A.

Account

Account current of the honourable company with the society of trade, A.

You will observe, from the last-mentioned accounts, that the duty on salt is thirty-five per cent. valuing the quantity received at 90 arcot rupees per maund; and that the duty on the beetle-nut is ten per cent. on the prime cost, which are the terms fixed by the honourable board for the first year's concern. The balance now due is current rupees 137,121, which, we request, you will order to be received into the treasury. This, gentlemen, will finish the total amount of duties on the first year's account; and the second, the society have paid rupees 400,000; and the reason a greater proportion of duties on the second year's account has not been paid, is owing to the difficulty we find in collecting the very large outstanding balances due to the society.

We are, with respect,

Hon. Sir and Sirs,

Fort-William, Your most obedient Servants,
26 August, 1769.

JOHN CARTIER, &c."

Ordered, That the accounts inclosed in the society of trade's letter, be entered after the consultation.

Extract

**Extract of a general Letter to Bengal, dated the
10th of April, 1771.**

“ We have likewise received the copies of the accounts from the society of trade, respecting the sale of salt and beetle-nut ; and in looking into the account current of that society with the company, dated the twenty-sixth of August, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, we observe, that the balance due for the duties on those articles is there made to be current rupees 137,121, as you advise us in your letter of the 25th of September, 1769, per Ankerwyke ; but, upon a closer examination of the several sums in the debit of that account, there appears to have been an omission of current rupees 220,000, which sum, on your treasury accounts and general books, is entered as paid in February, 1768, by Mr. Lawrell, secretary to the society ; in which case, instead of the before-mentioned balance being due at the closing of that account, you had then received unto your treasury the amount of current rupees 1,140,000, being current rupees 82,879, more than the whole amount of the duties set forth.

On your treasury accounts for September, 1769, there is a further entry of current rupees 31,000 ; this, we apprehend, with the above surplus, may have been in part of a new account, which matter you must explain to us ; and also, why no receipts are found on the general books, ending April, 1769, for the duties on salt and beetle-nut.”

Extract

Extract of Bengal general Consultation, the 31st
of March, 1772.

Received the following letter from the society of
trade.

To the Hon. John Cartier, Esq; President and
Governor, &c. of the Council.

“ Gentlemen,

“ We have received the extract from the honourable the court of directors general letter, under date the 10th of April, 1771, relative to the duties on salt and beetle-nut, from the society of trade to the honourable company.

The balance due to the honourable company, the 26th of August, 1769, amounting to current rupees 137,121, was from society A. and was discharged in two payments as follows :

1769, Sept. 13.	-	31,000
1770, March 29.	-	106,121
		<hr/>
		137,121

The supposed omission of current rupees, 220,000, paid the 3d of February, 1768, was in part of the duties due from society B. but has not been distinguished in the treasury books as received from the society of trade B. which has occasioned the mistake.

The

The following payments have since been made from society B. viz.

1769, May 31.	Muxadavad	180,000
1770, May 31	- - - -	25,000
1771, June 18	- - - -	90,000
		<hr/>
		295,000

We are, &c.

Fort-William,
3d March, 1772.

Signed } John Cartier,
 } Wm. Aldersey."

Agreed, it be mentioned in our next advices to Europe.

Extract of Fort-William Consultation, April 13,
1772.

The president lays before the board a letter received from the secretary to the committee of trade, as follows :

To the Honourable John Cartier, Esq; &c,

" Honourable Sir,

" I am ordered by the honourable the committee of trade, to request you will obtain permission of the honourable board, for Gocul Gofaul's attendance on the collector general to be dispensed with for four months, that he may be at liberty to settle and adjust his accounts with many of the merchants who have purchased from him large quantities of the committee's salt, which they

they have not yet paid for; by which the honourable company are prevented receiving their duties to a considerable amount, and the proprietors are great sufferers.

I am, &c.

13 April, 1772. (Signed) David Kellican,

Secretary to the comm. of trade."

Agreed, the secretary be directed to send a positive order to Mr. Holme, the collector of the twenty-four pergunnahs, to the purport required; and to permit Gocul Gofaul's naib to officiate for him during his absence.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council of Fort Saint George, to the Governor and Council of Fort-William, dated the 20th of July, 1767.

" There will be at Mazulipatam, in the ensuing October, about 600,000 maunds of salt belonging to the company, which cannot be sold at that place, and is a staple commodity at your settlement; it will be therefore rendering a very essential service to our honourable masters if you can dispose of it at public outcry, or by contracts on condition that it be delivered by weight or measure at the pans, and the company pay the expence, and furnish the means of transporting it on board such vessels as the purchasers may send for it; the amount of the contracts or sales to be paid

paid into your treasury, an advice from the chief and council at Mazulipatam of the quantity they have delivered, we request your honour, &c. will acquaint us as soon as possible, how far these schemes may be practicable.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council of Bengal, in answer to the above, dated the 26th of August, 1767.

“ We are sorry, gentlemen, we cannot perceive with you the advantages which the company would derive from your proposal, of offering to public sale in Calcutta so large a quantity of coasts salt, as six lacks of maunds.

It cannot be expected there will be bidders beyond the power of conveyance; and double the tonnage usually employed in the trade of the two presidencies, would be insufficient to bring down the quantity mentioned : as long as salt will produce a profit at this market, and shipping can be found, you will have purchasers without these. We cannot imagine that any person will offer to contract, nor would it be just either to the company, the society of trade here, or to the merchants, who have purchased from the society, to make publication of so large an import.

Some evident advantages, indeed, ought to arise to the company before we determine upon a measure which will immediately affect the sale of the society's stock, from whence the company receive duties to the amount of twelve lacks of rupees.

By

By such publication made here, the private merchants, who have bought on the faith of the said society, and the board, would find themselves disappointed of the very moderate profit to which they are limited by the articles of their agreement; and a positive penal deed, executed between the company and the proprietors of the inland trade, would be violated in a manner injurious to both, without producing a singular equivalent advantage to either.

For what is the capital in question upon six lacks of maunds, about 60,000 rupees will arise to the company, supposing the whole should be taken at contract; whereas, if tonnage can be found for one fourth of that quantity, an equal benefit will accrue to your transporting it to this market on account of the company, and with this peculiar advantage, that it may be done without injury to individuals, and without breach of positive engagements, or public justice.

We shall, however, acquaint the owners and commanders of all vessels, bound from hence to the coast, that they may be supplied with salt at Mazulipatam; and recommend to them to give the company the preference of their purchases of this article.

Extract of the Governor and Council of Fort Saint George's Letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 5th November, 1767.

Par. 70. "Your Bankfall farm was re-let for four years, the 27th July, at two hundred and fifty pagodas per annum, advance on the former rent.

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Par. 71. The chief and council at Mazulipatam, informed us in July, that a very considerable balance would remain due from the renter of the Mazulipatam and the Panracca salt, at the expiration of this cowle (which will be in this month) owing in great measure to the interruption which the Sombardy people have met with, who used to resort thither from the interior parts, and purchase that article : they advised us, indeed, at the same time, that the salt on hand would, even at a very low rate, be sufficient to discharge this balance, if received by the company in lieu thereof, and we immediately wrote to the gentlemen at Bengal, to desire they would endeavour to dispose of it by contract, or public sale. They have, however, represented so many difficulties attending such a scheme, that we have entirely dropped it ; and the only method that occurred to us, was to endeavour to prevail on the new renter to be accountable for the balance, provided the salt on hand was delivered to him ; and we have given directions to the chief and council accordingly.

Could the plan we recommended to the gentlemen at Bengal have been carried into execution, it must have been attended with very agreeable consequences.—The salt farm at Mazulipatam is (as your honours know well) one of the most considerable under the management of the chief and council. The produce of that article greatly exceeds the consumption ; and it consequently occurs, that unless the renter is a man of large substance, a very considerable balance must remain due from him at the expiration of his cowle, though

though perhaps the salt on hand, if sold, would fully discharge that balance; but were we to take it in lieu thereof, the company must be equally, if not greater sufferers, by our not being able to dispose of it.—Could it have been sold at Bengal, as we recommended, the farm would have been freed from every incumbrance, and would consequently have let at a greater advantage at the expiration of the cowl, than we can now hope it will.”

Extract of Bengal general Consultations, dated
the 2d September, 1765.

“ Mr. Johnstone sends in a letter containing a representation regarding his salt concerns in the Burdwan province, and other parts, in consequence of the establishment of the society of trade. The board esteems the subject thereof of material consequence, as it may prove a precedent for more applications of the same nature, and therefore refer it until another meeting to be determined on, after having been further considered; but in the mean time, if Mr. Johnstone thinks it will expediate the business, they will direct the gentlemen at Burdwan to make an enquiry into the state of his balances.

Ordered, therefore, that Mr. Johnstone be advised accordingly.”

To the Hon. the President and Council, &c.

. “ Gentlemen,

“ I have perused an advertisement affixed at the fort gate, by order of the committee of trade,
dated

dated the 12th of August, 1765, in which it is mentioned, that the honourable the court of directors having thought proper to send our particular orders for limiting the inland trade, in the articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; the same is now to be carried on in conformity to those orders, by a public society of proprietors, to be formed for that purpose; and that as an exclusive right to the trade of those articles will be rested in this society, by an authority derived from the company and from the nabob.

All manner of persons, dependent on the honourable company's government, are hereby strictly prohibited, from dealing in any respect, directly, or indirectly, in the articles of salt, beetle-nut, or tobacco, from the date hereof; that is to say, they shall not enter into any new engagements, unless as contractors, either for the purpose or sale of the articles with the society of trade.

As those orders threaten great loss to me in the concerns I am engaged in the article of salt, I beg leave to represent the state of my concerns, hoping it may merit your consideration, and procure me proper redress. In the month of March, 1764, Messrs. Johnstone and Bolts having entered into a partnership, made considerable contracts for salt in several pergunnahs, viz. in Subbing Shuja, Moota, Mondelgant, Caror, &c. with those who had the right of making and disposing of it, viz. molungees, tatuckdars, or zemindars, of those places. On these contracts, above the full amount was advanced, and further sums very considerable. In Subbing and Shuja,
Moota

Moota, &c. sums were taken up from us, by the zemindars and taluckdars, to be counted a dadny for salt of 1166, there some people, with whom we now contracted in several places, being indebted to the partnership of Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts, near 50,000 balances of what had been advanced them on contracts for the former year, we were under the necessity of continuing to engage with them, in order to recover these balances, which perhaps would otherwise have been lost to us.

As yet the salt of Subbing has not been weighed off from the golas there, but from the computation we have been able to make with the taluckdars, who are now here present, their balance will amount to nigh 12,000 rupees including rupees 5000, that was advanced them under a written agreement, to be transferred for dadny of the salt to be boiled in 1766. The salt from Shuja Morta being only in part received, we cannot ascertain this balance ; but by an estimate of the quantity of salt in heaps, we compute there will be due from the zemindars above rupees 6000, besides rupees 3000, advanced for dadny the ensuing season. The whole of the salt from Mendelgant not being yet received, we cannot till then be certain what balance will be due to us from the molungees ; but from the estimate we have been yet able to make, we expect, that in that purgunnah and coror they will amount to betwixt 30 and 40,000 current rupees.

As Mr. Bolts's and my partnership was about to expire in March, and we not agreeing to renew it, but each to act on his separate account
for

for the ensuing season, it behoved me therefore to endeavour to make my contracts the earlier.—Advances were accordingly made in Shuja, Moota, and Subbing as above mentioned, and to the molungees in Mendelgant, on contracts entered into with them, from February to May: above rupees 14,000 was advanced them at two different payments, as will appear from their receipts and contracts; depending on the validity of these engagements, and considering the great sums already due by the molungees, for a considerable while deferred advancing more, till being informed by my gomastahs, that others were making advances to those very people who had engaged with me, by prior contract for all their fair. That we might not lose the dadny we had already given, and the great balances outstanding of last year, we were obliged to make a further advance, so that the whole may amount now to rupees 20,000. When we made these contracts and advances, there was then no intimation, prohibition, or restriction to the contrary, issued from the honourable board; nor was any orders of the company's general letter that I ever heard of, or thought to be infringed thereby, and I was equally free, as well as every other merchant, to contract for the ensuing season at what time I pleased, with whoever were ready to enter into engagements with me. That where there are competitors, it is the common practice to contract for goods many months before-hand, is too well known to every one, I believe, who trades in this country, for me to insist on it; and though by the sense of the committee a monopoly has been

been adopted, and ordered immediately to take place, I humbly conceive there is no such instructions nor inference can be drawn from any paragraph in the honourable company's general letter, directing or authorising any thing like it, nor empowering you to transfer the advantage of purchases or contractors in trade, made by me, while a member of the board, or by others concerned, to yourselves, gentlemen, or to any others you may chuse hereafter to divide it with; neither did the board, while they had the freedom of acting; ever declare that they understood the company's letter to convey any such meaning as is now issued, as if by their authority and direction. The orders which are now issued, on the supposition of our exclusive right that is to be hereafter derived to the society from the company and nabob, we presume, in justice and law, cannot affect transactions in trade not commenced in contradiction thereto, but entered into long before any such monopoly was thought of, or designed by the board at that time, and only published within these few days. We conceive, that in England, and all free countries at all periods, time has been allowed for the finishing concerns, before absolute prohibition have taken place in any article of trade of the above nature, that must affect so many who traded under the assurance of protection and security to their property and effects from that government, the benefit of whose laws they enjoyed, and were intitled to in common with their fellow-subjects that issue their orders so much for their own benefit. It was objected by the general voice, as one of the greatest
grie-

grievances in the late regulation, proposed to have taken place under Coffin Ally Cawn, that the nine per cent. duty was to be levied forthwith on all merchandize, and that all the contracts that had been entered into with the molungees, &c. at the tofals, were to be given up, without allowing any time for finishing the concerns before entered into, or any precaution being taken for securing to the merchants the balance due to them. When by the order of the board last year, all further contracts were forbid on those collaries or tofals, under the jurisdiction of the nabob, provision was made by the honourable board, that the zemindars should discharge the outstanding balances when the tofals should be given over to them; and the board also, when they took the salt-pans of the Calcutta pergunnahs into their own hand, took upon the company to discharge their large debts, due for many years before to the merchants; and further to regulate, that whoever worked the collaries, the balance that might fall due to him from the molungees should be taken off by the succeeding farmers of the collaries; we hope that the same justice will be done to us, who have so many dealings in the different districts under the company's protection, and with the zemindars under the nabob's jurisdiction, with whom every merchant has been at liberty to trade; and that since all means, and all hopes is now debarr'd us of ever being able to reimburse those large sums due to us, by any future profits from the salt trade, that the honourable board will think of proper methods to prevent the loss we must inevitably suffer, by orders every where issued,

fued, forbidding all purchases on sales. To many of you, gentlemen, and others who have shared in the monopoly, the loss of any, by giving up such balances as may be due to you, will be compensated again by the profits you will now share ; but the whole must fall with all its weight on myself, and others concerned with me, who are excluded any part.

The contracts, that my brother and I had made with the molungees, on which two payments were made before the committee was formed, was for 133,000 Bhangma maunds. We understand, that offers have been made to the committee of trade, to furnish them the salt made in Mendlegaut, which we have already in part paid for, at 75 rupees per cent. maunds ; it must appear in vain for us to talk of, or ask a price, where we have not the power of bettering ourselves by selling to others, but lie under the necessity of accepting what you please to give us. On a view of the profits, you are likely to receive by the general monopoly of the three articles, we need not represent, that those who make such offers, are now in effect trading on our capital ; and having no balance to lose, may, supported by your power, afford to undertake to give the salt, that ought in justice to belong to belong to us, to your committee at 75 rupees, they will be under no necessity of incurring bad debts, by supplying money to the molungees, as we have done very large sums, when distressed by their losses, whether by cheapness of grain, overflowings, or caterpillars in their farms.

We have the greatest hopes in appealing to your candour and justice, as judges, that, though parties in this cause, and abundantly powerful to enforce your orders, yet that proper regard will be had to our rights, and the security of our property laid out in trade, under the protection and sanction of public treaties, both with the last and present subah.

Should we promise 37 rupees 8 As. the same price we hear is offered to the gentlemen at Chittagong, and Decca ; though this might by some be thought unreasonable, as the price has altered much since I was concerned there, if the salt stands them dearer to Rajahbarry, than it does us brought to Calcutta, and considering those gentlemen will share the advantage solely among themselves, at the same time they will share likewise in the profits on the whole ; yet the fixing the price rests wholly in your power, and we are under the necessity of submitting to accept of whatever you will think proper to settle it at, or run the risk of losing whatever we have advanced on the contracts of this season, and what is due for the last. We have only, therefore, to request, that you will let us know what we have to expect, and that considering the circumstances we have laid before you, will not give to others that preference that is due to us, in virtue of our contracts at Mendlegaut, Subbing, Suja, Moota, &c. and as all power is now centered in your hands, that you will give us that assistance, which subjects trading under your protection, we are entitled to expect. in recover-
ing

ing our just debts outstanding due to us, whether in the districts of the nabob or company.

I am, with due respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

Calcutta, Humble servant,
26th of August, 1765.

JOHN JOHNSTONE.

Extract of Bengal general consultations, dated
16th of September, 1765.

Mr. Johnstone sends in a letter, acquainting us that he has settled with Mr. Verelst, since his address of the 26th ult. in regard to his own and partner's concerns in the Burdwan districts, and has only now to beg our assistance in recovering the debts and balances that they can make appear due to them from the zemindars or others, in the districts of the nabob, or other of the company's lands, for the two last years.

Ordered it be entered; And

That the secretary do acquaint Mr. Johnstone in answer, that it rests with himself to take such methods as may appear to him proper for the recovery of the debts and balances he mentions; but that if he meets with any difficulty therein, we will, on application, comply with his request, by affording him the necessary assistance of our government.

To the hon. Lord Clive, &c. council of Fort-William.

“ My Lord and Gentlemen,

“ Having since my address under date the 26th of August, settled with Mr. Verelst in regard to my own and partner's salt concerns in the Burdwan districts, I have only to request now the assistance of your government, in receiving the debts and balances that we can make appear justly due to us from the zemindars, or others in the districts of the nabob or company's lands, Burdwan excepted, for the last two years, with a reasonable advance on the contracts they had entered into with us for the salt of the year now coming, and on such sums as by their receipts and proper vouchers, we can shew has been advanced in virtue thereof, if it be not allowed them to fulfil those engagements, nor us to advantage ourselves by receiving and settling the salt as heretofore.

I am, with respect,

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Calcutta, Your most obedient servant,
Sept. 15, 1765.

JOHN JOHNSTONE.”

Fort-

Fort-William, Aug. 28, 1765.

At a committee of new lands.

Present.

William B. Sumner, Ralph Leicester, George Gray, Esqrs.

The last proceedings read and approved.

Read a letter received from the secretary of the committee of trade, containing a report of the arrangement they have made of the salt collaries in the Calcutta lands, and the names of the persons to whom they are let, further requesting, that we will furnish those people with a particular list of the collaries of each lot, and inclosing also a copy of the conditions on which they have formed the present contracts.

Ordered, that the latter be entered after this day's proceedings, and that the different collectors do, upon application made, furnish the contractors with the lists required.

To William Brightwell Sumner, Esq. &c. gentlemen of the committee of lands.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I am directed by the committee of trade to acquaint you that the following is the disposition they have made of the salt collaries in the Calcutta lands.

Lot 1. The wood the collaries of Hallyaghur and Moyda, with the country collaries of Hallyaghur, assigned to Mr. Robert Saunderfon.

Lot

Lot 2. The wood collaries of Moragaché, Puckacoolé, Shawpore, Duckumwagur, and Ghurr, with the country collarics of the same, assigned to Mr. John Graham.

Lot 3. The wood collarics of Azimabad, and Burnidgehatty, with the country collarics of Medinmul, Burnidgehatty, Azimabad, and Calcutta, assigned to Messrs. Mac Taggart and Aitchison.

They have further directed me to request that you will order the directors of the pergunnahs to furnish the gentlemen with a particular list of the collarics contained in these districts, to enable them to enter on the making of salt.

Accompanying, I transmit you a copy of the conditions on which the committee of trade have formed the present contracts, and by which you will observe that the contractors relinquished all claim or demand for future balances from the moulungees. This being the case, the committee could not in equity subject the contractors to take off the balances due to the late farmers; and they therefore recommend it to the consideration of the committee of land to settle some mode for adjusting those balances.

I am, with respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

(Signed) J. GRAHAM.
Sec. Com. of Trade.
Con-

Conditions for regulating the contracts for salt in the Calcutta lands.

That the whole collaries, as well the wood collaries as country collaries, shall be arranged in three lots as follows, and that no person shall be permitted to contract for more than one lot.

Lot. 1. The wood collaries of Hattiagur and Moyada, with the country collaries of Hattiagur.

Lot 2. The wood collaries of Muragatchee, Peechacoole, Shawpore, Duckunagur, and Ghurr, with the country collaries of the same.

Lot 3. The wood collaries of Azimabad and Burrigehatty, with the country collaries of Medinul, Burrigehatty, Azimabad, and Calcutta.

That, upon application made, the committee will advance the money required for these contracts as follows :

Six annus (in the rupee) within the month of September ; six annus (in the rupee) within the month of November ; and the remaining four annus (in the rupee) on the 31st of January, for which bonds shall be granted payable in six months. But should any part of these advances remain due from the contractors, when the time of delivery of the salt is elapsed, the contractors shall allow to the society an interest on the same after the rate of ten per cent. per annum, to be calculated according to the periods of the advances.

That all the salt produced in the first lot shall be delivered by the contractors at Nullooah, Gongadonga, within the course of the season, that is to say, by the 1st of September, 1766, unto an agent

agent of ours, who will be appointed to receive the same into the society's golahs, and execute acquittances for each receiver.

That all the salt produced in the second lot, shall be delivered at Nullooah, Gongadonga, and Guigutta, in like manner as the first.

And that all the salt produced in the third lot, shall be delivered at Nullooah, Gongadonga, Barreepore, and Coolbera, in the like manner as the first.

That the whole expence of making, duties, charges, &c. until the delivery into the society's golahs, shall be on account of the contractors. That the salt delivered shall be pure salt, as collected from the pans. And that the weight established for the whole shall be after the rate of 82 sicca weight, per seer, with the usual casts of the scale, excepting the salt produced in the country collaries of Medinmul, which shall be delivered after the rate of 85 sicca weight, per seer, with the same allowances of the scale.

That the contractors shall not be bound by any penalty for the delivery of any certain quantity, but that they shall be obliged themselves to deliver to us as above-mentioned, all the salt that shall be made in the foregoing lots, and that they shall sell none to any other person whatever.

That every possible assistance shall be given to the contractors in carrying on their business, as well as redress in case of grievances, or disputes which may arise. But the contractors shall on their part oblige themselves to make their applications in such cases to this committee alone, and abide by their determination. The method pointed

ed out for obtaining redress on such occasions, is to lodge information with the secretary of the committee, who will immediately make it his business to apply on the complainant's behalf to the company's collector, or to the committee, according as the nature of the cause may require.

That in consideration of the allowance which will be made in the price for the risk of balances and bad debts, the said balances and bad debts shall be on account of the contractors, who shall oblige themselves to relinquish all future claim or demand on the molungees for the same. But, the said contractors shall nevertheless engage to deliver in to the committee, at the expiration of their contracts, an authentic list of all such balances and bad debts that the committee may have the benefit of the same for preserving a proper authority over the molungees, who are to continue to carry on this work on account of the society.

That should any new duty or tax be imposed on the collaries from the authority of the president and council during the course of the season, the committee oblige themselves to advance in their price to the contractors, so much as the said duty or tax may amount to. And, in like manner, should any part of the present duties or taxes be taken off, or abolished, the contractors shall oblige themselves to admit a deduction of so much as the same may amount to in their contract prices.

That for the true and just performance of all and each of these conditions (the contract price being settled) the contractors of each lot, shall bind himself in the penal sum of one lack of Arcot rupees.

A true extract from the proceedings of the
21st of August, 1765.

(Signed) J. GRAHAM.
Sec. Com. Trade.

At a committee of lands.

Fort-William, Sept. 3d, 1762.

Present.

Peter Amyatt, Esq. president, William Hay, Esq.
and Mr. James Sawnell.

The sub-secretary finds, in an extract from the proceedings of the council, dated the 30th of August, 1762, as entered after these proceedings, in which it is determined, that the salt pans shall be continued to be worked in the same manner they have hitherto been done, with a tax of thirty sicca rupees on each khallary, all other duties whatever being abolished; and recommending to us to settle the former accounts between the molungees and the merchants: in consequence of which,

Ordered, That the secretary do publish an advertisement in the country languages, to the following purposes, viz.

That no person will be permitted to make salt in the company's lands without permission from the collectors; for which permission they will pay to the company the sum of thirty sicca rupees for each khallary, with a head molungee, and seven under him; and more or less in proportion to the number of people employed.

That

That any person or persons whatever, who may make salt without the said permission, in writing under the seals of the gentlemen collectors, shall forfeit the said salt so made, which shall be confiscated to the company.

The said tax of thirty rupees per khallary must be paid within the year, in twelve equal payments.

The molungees, for their labour, shall be allowed at the rate of forty sicca rupees per one hundred maunds, of forty sears each maund, and each sear of eighty-two sicca weight, with whatever other allowances have been always customary.

And the committee have taken in consideration which will be the most effectual method to settle the accounts between the merchants and the molungees, are of opinion,

That the collectors do publish orders in their respective pergunnahs, that every merchant and molungee do bring their accounts into the cutcherries, so as they may be settled by the 30th of October next; and in default of either of the parties not producing their accounts, the others so produced shall be held valid.

The disposal of the khaskallaries being taken into consideration, Domingo De Rozario, the late purchaser, was sent for, and being questioned if his accounts with the molungees were settled, he informs the committee, that it will be impossible to have them settled for some time, as the salt is not yet all weighed off from the khallaries. The committee are therefore of opinion, that the putting up of the company's pans at outcry, before

fore his balances are settled, will be of great prejudice to the sales; and therefore,

Ordered, That the sales be deferred till Mr. Domingo's accounts are ascertained.

But being absolutely necessary, in order that the business of salt making be not put a stop to, that at this season of the year, money be advanced to the molungees;

Ordered, That the collectors, in whose pergunahs there are of the company's pans, do make the necessary advances to the molungees, which advances are to be repaid by the purchasers, when the khaskallaries are sold at outcry.

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee at Bengal, to Richard Becher, Esq; Resident at the Durbar, dated 15th September, 1770.

“ We doubt not but the duty arising on salt has employed much of your attention; yet we cannot help remarking, that the company will be greatly disappointed from that branch of their revenue falling so greatly short of the calculation made by the court of directors of its annual produce; and we must here observe, that we respect the phousdar of Hughley either to have been extremely negligent in his duty, or dishonest in the management of the business committed to his charge. However, as the salt districts are now under the management of a supervisor, we shall expect this important branch of the company's revenue

revenue will be revived and ascertained with more exactness than it has hitherto been."

Extract of the Select Committee's Letter from Bengal, dated 31st October, 1770, and received per Prince of Wales, the 12th May, 1771.

Par. 16. "When we reflect on your orders on, and expectations from, the duties arising on salt, we cannot but be greatly concerned at the disappointment you must necessarily meet with from the last year's produce of that branch of your revenue. Its falling so very short of your estimate, makes us strongly suspect, that the phoufdar of Hughley has either been extremely negligent in his duty, or dishonest in the management of the business committed to his charge. This district is now under the management of a supervisor, from whose investigation the conduct of the phoufdar will be fully discovered; and if it appears, that he has committed any fraudulent actions, we shall call him to a very severe account. Under the supervisor we expect this important branch of your revenue will be revived and ascertained with greater precision than it has hitherto been."

Extract

*Extract from the Murshadabad Consultations, the
6th May, 1771.*

Read the following letter from the supervisor of
Hughley.

To Samuel Middleton, Esq; Chief, &c. and Six
Gentlemen of the Council of Revenue.

“ Gentlemen,

“ Agreeable to your orders, I now transmit
you the several accounts required, relative to the
produce and duties collected on salt, beetle-nut,
and tobacco, from the time prescribed by you.

No. 1. Contains an account of the produce of
salt, in the Bengal year 1174, or in 1767 and 8 :
and

No. 2. The account of all salt duties collected in
Bengal, in the year 1175, or 1768-9. The im-
portations not arriving till the year after the salt is
boiled, will account for there being no duties in the
first year after the dissolution of the society of trade.
And this general observation may be esteemed a
rule, seldom erroneous, that the duties of the suc-
ceeding have been levied as above stated, compar-
ed together, will shew the deficiency of the latter.
To account for that deficiency in part, I have to
remark, that the salt in its passage from below is
subject to a diminution from two causes: the
sinking of boats, and the loss on weight by the
salt becoming drier.—Another cause that will
contribute to reduce the apparent deficiency, is,
that

that in Idgelec there is every year produced a certain quantity of salt, which they call chyngattee ; that salt is brown, and much inferior to Madrafs salt. An account of its produce for these three years past, is contained under

No. 3. Of the quantity boiled the first and second years has been delivered, and I understand has passed the bundar (or custom-house) under the denomination of Madrafs salt, and paid the established duties of ten per cent. The produce of last year is still unexported, and the reasons assigned for it, is, that the duty of 30 rupees per maunds is determined upon it, which I have ordered to be done, as there is no authority for following the example quoted above. But as this kind of salt is so little esteemed, and price so low, as not to afford the heavy duty of 30 per cent. I did intend, and now take this opportunity of requesting your orders upon the subject. Chandeia, which is an article in the receipts of salt duties, is a chokey that collects upon small parcels of salt that proceed from some parts of Kistnagur, Jussur, and of Haughley. The above general observations will extend to the succeeding years, and such as appertain solely to any particular year, will be spoken of when the accounts of that year are remarked upon.

No. 4. Is an account of the produce of salt in 1175 or 1768-9. and

No. 5. Is an account of the duties collected in 1176 or 1769-70. In the latter, Joniaram Gofaul is indulged with a remission from the established duty, which reduces it to 9, 8 rupees per 100 maunds. This remission was ordered by the nabob,

nabob, upon the quantity of one lack, fifty thousand maunds, being the property of Joniaram Gosaul. The refund credited the Fouzedar in this account, was for embezzlements committed in his articles. It was established by Mr. Graham against him, when he adjusted the accounts of his administration : and the advance of 8748 : 11 : 9 properly belongs to the duties of the succeeding year.

No. 6. Shews the produce of salt in 1176, or 1769-70. And

No. 7. The account of duties collected in the Bengal year 1177, or 1770-71, Joniaram Gosaul exported this year 18015 maunds, at the same rate he did the quantity specified last year, and agreeable to the nabob's order, he has now liberty to pass 65007 maunds more under the like indulgence. In this account, Mysadel is charged with duties upon 200,000 maunds only. The deliveries to the merchants having been near 250,000, a balance of duties will be due from them upon an adjustment of accounts, when they come to export their salt.

I have to remark in general, in regard to the accounts of the produce for the three years, that if the gross weight specified therein be compared with the quantity inserted under that head in the general statement of accounts, transmitted under the date of the 19th of February, there will appear inconsiderable difference, which is owing to these circumstances : that, in the latter account, such salt was borrowed by the zemindar to answer any sudden requisition for the delivery of that article, or recovered from his servants, who had em-

embezzled in the preceding year, was brought to the credit of the year's produce. The present accounts are formed from the original accounts of the boiling, by which only the duties that should have been collected, can be calculated with precision.

No. 8. Is an estimate of the produce of salt in Idgelec, Masadel, and Tumlock, for the present year. It falls somewhat short of what was formerly computed, and the reason of it, is, there have been frequently rains in the pergunnahs of late, which have much interrupted the boiling.

No. 9. Is an account of the contracts concluded by government this year.

No. 10. Is an account of the duties collected upon beetle-nut since the dissolution of the society of trade, upon which I have to remark, that this district does not produce that article, and that the duties here are partly local, or collected upon the importation for consumption, and partly from a customary boosal upon the Decca rowannas. The rate of duty varying, as appears from the accounts, is owing to a former practice of encouraging importation, by indulging particular merchants with a diminution of the customary duties, and the greater or less quantity imported by them, will of consequence alter the medium rate of duty for the whole year.

No. 11. Is an account of the duties collected on tobacco; and as this article likewise does not

grow in this district, the duties are collected upon it in the same manner they are upon beetle-nut.

I am, with respect,

Gentlemen,

Hughley, Your most obedient,
April 30, 1771.

Humble servant,

WILLIAM LUSHINGTON.

Ordered, that the Persian copies of the statements, sent with the Hughley letter, of the 30th of April, be delivered to the naib Duan.

Extract of the general letter to Bengal, dated 25th of March, 1772.

“ We are highly displeased at your disobedience to our orders of the 23th of March, 1770, respecting the re-imbursment of all such sums, which had been paid by our servants out of the commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to such persons to whom we had not thought fit to assign any share thereof; and we cannot forbear testifying our surprise, that the repugnance which you evidently shew to the execution of those commands should be founded on the plea you have offered in your justification.

“ Were it possible we could be persuaded, that our council had, as you alledge, been induced to this step, from a full persuasion that the supplies arising from such commission was intended as a recompence

compence to those servants in Bengal, whose particular profession and situation made them proper objects of our consideration. We could not but be impressed with an idea, either of your want of judgment or attention, for upon the least advertence to the 117th paragraph of our orders of the 25th of November, 1767, and on the 182d paragraph of our letter of the 16th of March, 1768, which ought to have been the rule of their conduct, they could not have been under any difficulty concerning the purposes to which we meant to apply the surplus, as might arise from the unappropriated shares of the said commission; or even had that been possible, certainly we had reason to believe, that they would have been sufficiently restrained by our express injunction of the 20th of November, 1767, which positively directs, that the surplus should be carried to the company's credit, under the head of unappropriated commission, until you shall receive further orders concerning the disposition of it.

“ And therefore, in referring this matter to your further consideration, you have only discovered an unjustifiable partiality to such of our servants, who had acted in violation of our orders, and by not requiring immediate repayment of such sums, as had been duly paid out of the said surplus, you have manifested as little regard to our interest as to our commands, and so far are we from being disposed to recede from our orders of the 23d of March, 1770, that we hereby renew and confirm the same.

“ You are therefore forthwith to demand, and receive of the several members of our council,
who

who consented to the payment of any share or shares of the said commission, not warranted by us, or in case of their absence from your presidency, of their respective attornies, or agents, the amount of the several sums which have been so unduly paid out of the said commission ; and, if such members of your council, their attornies, or agents, shall refuse or neglect to pay the same immediately into our treasury at Fort-William, we direct, that you will forthwith proceed to an attachment of their effects in like manner as we directed should be done in the 42d paragraph of our letter of the 28th August, 1771, respecting the re-imbursment which we required of those members of our council, who had involved us in the payment of damages, for non-payment of a bill of exchange, drawn for the first moiety of the navy donation."

Extract of a general Letter to Bengal, dated the 25th of March, 1772.

Par. 120. " We cannot suppress our indignation at finding, that our orders of the 11th of November, 1768, for transmitting to us copies of the accounts of the society of trade, (together with such further information as might enable us to judge how far that society had been regular in discharging the balances due on salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco) which produced no other effect, than to draw from you that imperfect abstract of the society's accounts for the first year, which we find on consultation, the 3d of October, 1769.

Par.

Par. 121. And as we have reason to apprehend, that you have evaded our commands, from an unwillingness to elucidate the transactions of this society, we must here declare, that if you neglect to forward to us, by the ships of the ensuing season, compleat copies of all books and accounts of the society, from its institution to the closing of that monopoly, we shall not only manifest that displeasure which wilful disobedience shall deserve, but require you to indemnify the company for any loss they may sustain by not receiving necessary information on this subject.

Par. 122. Besides the books and accounts of the said society of trade, it is our express will and pleasure, that you ascertain us by letter and statement, in the best manner you are able, the amount of all salt bought up by any of the members of the said society of trade, whether jointly or separately, between the 12th day of August, 1765, and the 1st day of March, 1766, as well as for every succeeding year, specifying the names of buyers and sellers, and the quantity of salt so bought and sold as aforesaid, in all cases where such accounts can possibly be obtained.

Par. 123. In order to this, you will call before you the banyans and other public servants of those persons, who composed the first committee of trade, and all other persons whom you may deem able to elucidate the transactions hereby referred to your investigation.

Par. 124. You are to take care, that the examination of all such persons be made in the most accurate manner, and so authenticated as to be of use in a court of judicature in England, in case

case we should have occasion to make such use thereof. And in all the society's account of sales at Calcutta, or elsewhere in the different districts of the country, you must be especially careful that the sale price, at every place and period, be fully and distinctly ascertained.

You are on no account to with-hold from us such lights on the subject, as may enable us fully to investigate the transactions of this society, and the particular members thereof, from August, 1765, to the present time.

As the society was, in September, 1766, rendered answerable to the board for their conduct, and both society and council were to be controuled by the select committee, we must consider you fully empowered to answer our present commands on this subject; and we again direct, that you spare no pains in your enquiries, nor suffer any connections or considerations whatever, to prevent you from answering fully our just expectations, according to the letter and spirit of these our positive orders, as you value our service, the honour and interest of the company, and your own characters as its representatives in Bengal; and also as you would avoid the consequences to which you will be rendered liable by a different conduct.

In the execution of our said orders, particular care must be had to the names of the persons who have, from time to time, been proprietors of the said society of trade; the names of the persons who have, from time to time, composed their committee or committees, the precise time when alterations by death, resignation, or otherwise,
having

having happened, either in the said society or committee of trade, from its institution to its abolition ; or, if it has not been totally abolished, then such accounts must be compleated to the latest period for which they can be taken."

At a Select Committee, the 28th April, 1770.

Present,

The Hon. John Cartier, Esq; President, Claud Russell, and Charles Hoyer, Esqrs.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Becher, to the Select Committee.

" These accounts, which are composed of materials furnished by the ministers at my requisition, exhibit, on one side, the amount of sums collected since the English have acceded to the dewannee by cesses under the name of Mut-hute ; and on the other, the particulars of sundry expences of the sicca, neither of which have appeared on the public records, the former having never been included in the general statement of the revenues transmittted annually to your board, nor the latter inserted in our treasury accounts, but both left under the management of the ministers ; for reasons why these cesses were established, and have been thus conducted, I can only refer you to an extract of a letter from Mr. Sykes to me, on his resigning the office I now hold. Mahomed Reza Cawn entirely confirms Mr. Sykes's representation, and assures me, that it was with the approbation of Lord Clive, and the gentlemen

men who then composed the committee, that this mode of collection was first adopted. It has always been my intention to lay these accounts before the committee. I communicated this intention to Mr. Verghis when here at the last poonah, at the same time, acquainting him with every circumstance I then knew relative to them, and he approved of it. Permit me here to request your excuse for not having transmitted them sooner; the multiplicity of business on my hands; this unfavourable season, and the endeavouring to establish on a proper footing your benevolent plan of sending supervisors into the different districts, having engrossed so much of my time and attention, as to have caused this delay.

It is my duty, gentlemen, to give you the best insight I possibly can in the nature of these cesses, and the distribution of the money that has arose from them. Having done this, I shall offer my sentiments in relation to those expences which appear to me necessary to be continued, and those that may be retrenched. When you have the whole thus before you, I shall expect you will favour me with your explicit orders on the subject, to which you may be assured of my strict obedience.

First, As to the chelats, the amount of the cess on account of this expence has been greatly increased since our obtaining the dewannee, owing in a great measure to two causes; one, the considerable charge of chelats for English gentlemen; the other, that formerly the amount of this cess was applied to little else than the dresses of the zemindars and collectors at the time of the poonah,

pooneah, all occasional charges, which were much more considerable, having been defrayed by the treasury, or the nabob's consummation; but since he was brought to a fixed stipend, he declined bearing any part of the expences, which has occasioned the whole to fall on the assessment: however, you, gentlemen, will, I believe, join in opinion with me, that the nabob should either defray the expence of chelats for his own people from this stipend, or that it should not be continued but to a very few of the principal men about his person. And I further presume it will be judged expedient, that most of the English gentlemen should wave their pretensions, and that you will direct, that in future none should receive chelats but those who are entitled to them by their public employments. The custom of giving dresses to those employed in the collections cannot, in my opinion, be abolished entirely with propriety, but the expence may certainly be greatly reduced.

Secondly, The *pusttebundy*, or charges of repairing bridges, banking the sides of the river, &c. Whoever has gone up and down through *Murshadabad* by water, must be sensible of the great expence of supporting the banks of the river, which to people in general would appear a most unreasonable charge. These banks extend from *Sydabad* to *Bhemeneah* in one continuation of near five coss, besides many other places where they are only required in particular spots. In some parts they run twenty covids high, supported with a double frame of *Bamboo* mats, and here and there timbers. For-

merly the expence of supporting these banks, repairing bridges, &c. was defrayed by, and the conducting it entirely invested in, particular zemindars, whose lands were contiguous to them, and the zemindars were proportionably eased in their rents; but even, then, on extraordinary events, great assistance was given by the government. On this footing nearly things remained during the first two years of our holding the dewannee, and the extra expence was charged in the treasury accounts; but in 1173 (anno Dom. 1766, 1767) by the insufficiency of this mode, and the neglect and inability of the zemindars, the banks were found to have gone greatly to decay; and by the giving way of some of them the country was overflowed, and the city of Murshadabad in the greatest danger in September, 1767. For these reasons an assessment which had before rested with particular zemindars, who because of the racked state of their rents were no longer able to support it, was extended to other districts. The nabob, Mahomed Reza Cawn, acquaints me, that the produce of his assessment has been applied, with little deviation, to the repairing these banks, &c. which appear, and are generally reported to be in good order, and may, I apprehend, at a moderate expence, be kept so, till they suffer again by a very extraordinary rise of the river.

Thirdly, The resum nezarut, which is the dustore, or fee, of the nazir and the room of ten annoes, that of the mutsuddies of the cutcherry, by old and established custom, the post of nazir was formerly of great repute, he being properly,

as

as his name imports, overseer, and having had under him all the peons, chubdars, &c. who, on pretence of collecting, plundered the country. This office having been found burthensome, rather than advantageous, was abolished, but the cess has been continued; and by the accompanying papers, you will find to what purpose it has been applied. Of the resum of ten annoes, four were long ago struck off, and are monthly brought to credit in the treasury account; the remaining six ought, according to ancient custom, to be divided among the mutsuddies and mohores of the cutcherry; but how much of it they received, you, gentlemen, will see by inspecting the account of the disbursements.

One circumstance in these accounts which relates to myself, I must beg leave to explain. On my arrival here, I found that my predecessors had received from these cesses an allowance of 2000 rupées per month. On applying to Mahomed Reza Cawn for an explanation on this charge, he acquainted me, that according to the custom of this country, Mr. Sykes's table was supplied from the districts near the city with several articles of provision, but that inconveniences having attended this method, Mahomed Reza Cawn proposed to Mr. Sykes to abolish this custom, and to receive 2000 sicca rupees per month from the collections, accounts, pushtebundy, and resum. To this proposal Mr. Sykes acquiesced, and the allowance has been continued to the resident, and received by me since I have held that station. Mr. Verelst I acquainted with this circumstance, and he did not disapprove of the allowance being continued,

continued, as he was sensible of the great expence attendant on my situation. Whatever orders you may please to transmit on this subject, shall be punctually complied with; and I shall only add upon it, that large as my allowances are, as resident at the durbar, I can assure you, they do not exceed my expences.

After mature consideration, and examination of the several charges that the ministers have thought proper to admit in these accounts, you, gentlemen, will please to determine what shall be continued, and what struck off. The charges may certainly be greatly reduced: the ministers and myself are of opinion, that if an addition to the bundebush of about three hundred and fifty thousand rupees be made, it may serve to bear all absolutely necessary expences, provided chelats are given only to those immediately in office in the collecting branch, and that you think proper that no bearers or coolies be charged in future in these accounts. Such other charges as you may deem expedient to strike off, may be deducted from that sum, and whatever chelats and other expences you may please still to continue over and above those already specified, must be added to it. Permit me here, gentlemen, strongly to recommend, that the mode of collecting by malhute be abolished, which will prove a great relief to the inhabitants. This mode of collecting has ever been a heavy grievance, as the ryotts never knew what he was to pay, but had more or fewer demands made upon him at the arbitrary will of the collector. The sum proposed to be added to the general bundebush will be chearfully submitted

mitted to: the ryotts will know what they have to pay, and be freed from arbitrary oppression. One great difficulty accrues, which is, how to get clear of the sum of rupees 229,265 : 11 : 14, which these cesses stand indebted to the treasury, merchants, &c. Could this sum be wrote to loss, and ordered to be paid, the satisfaction would be compleat; if not, I am afraid the destructive malhute plan must be pursued another year to get clear of this incumbrance.

I remain, with respect,

Hon. Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient,

Moidepore,
28th March, 1770.

Humble Servants,

Richard Becher."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Sykes to Mr. Becher,
under Date 16th January, 1769.

" You will find there are the collections made separate from the statement, viz. an account of the expences of the pooneah, called Khelat, Baah Pushtebundy, and Rufum Nezarut.

This mode for defraying these expences was established by Lord Clive and the select committee, and why they are not included in the statement, that the company might have a fair account of their gross collections at one view, I cannot conceive. It must, I think, have arisen from

from the fear the gentlemen of the select committee had that the company would not permit such an expence to be kept up at the pooneahs, notwithstanding it is deemed so necessary in the eyes of the country people, and always held with the utmost veneration. The pushtebundy is a necessary expence. The rusum nazaret might be abolished; yet as these allowances to the under munsuddies and officers of the government is of an ancient standing, the abolition of it would have given disgust, and it was directed to be kept up, and divided as the nabob thought proper.

Ordered, the accounts be entered after these proceedings.

After a mature consideration, the committee determined on the following resolution.

That the expences of the chelat baha be in future limited and regulated, the dresses to be bestowed on none but the acting officers of government, and the members of the administration, and the value reduced as low as appearance will admit.

That the resident proceed to examine the pretensions of all those who have heretofore received dresses, and forward a list to the committee of those who ought to be excluded from, or admitted to, that distinction.

That the late charges of pushtebundy, after the extraordinary repairs of the bank in 1767, appear exorbitant, that the general tax being imposed at that period, on account of the inundation only, the necessity for it can no longer remain at present, and that nothing should prevent the immediate re-establishment of the local tax

was

was it not necessary to discharge the debt of 229,265 : 11 : 14, and on the overplus of this cess the committee principally rely, as a fund for that purpose.

That resum nazaret be consolidated with the resum of 11 annoes.

That the presents to the mohures and mutsuddies be discontinued, as far as can be effected without creating in them a disgust to the service.

That bearers be allowed to those who travel on public duties, and to no others.

That the sum of 350,000 rupees be fixed on for the ensuing year, and that all saving and deductions which can be made therefrom, be applied to the discharge of the debt of 229,265 : 11 : 14.

That a statement of the sum be formed separate from the bundebush, and that a new and equal assessment thereof on each district in proportion to its revenue, avoiding those particulars which have hitherto been too visible to the levying the mahhut. This indeed the committee suppose to have been one grand cause of the complaints regarding mahhuts ; and if the abuses of collectors be included, the reason why so inconsiderable a sum, as the mahhuts has spread such terror, and produced such grievance, need not be further sought.

By fixing the amount of the whole mahhut at the commencement of the year, and dividing the burthen equally among the districts, the committee entertain hopes, that the inhabitants will be sufficiently secured against the evils of an unlimited arbitrary tax, and the arts of collectors, who must necessarily have drawn enormous sums from the

the ryotts under this head ; it appearing to the committee, that the 2000 rupees per month, mentioned in the resident's letter, is a part of the 3000 settled by lord Clive, by some oversight not recorded.

Agreed, that the resident be questioned concerning it ; and that the following letter be wrote to him as a full answer to his letter of the 28th of March.

To Richard Beher, Esq. resident at the Durbar.

“ Sir,

“ We have received your favour of the 28th ult. with the several papers and accounts therein inclosed.

In a country where abuses of office are practised with an audaciousness that seems to expose the offenders to instant punishment, and are yet supported by such a complication of artifices, the multitude of associates, that to detect is difficult, and to mark the offender almost impossible, it is a necessary consequence, that all arbitrary cases whatever must be so many instruments of oppression in the power of collectors. Was it not so, how is it possible that the mahhut, a sum by no means considerable in itself, should be found so heavy and intolerable a burthen on this extensive country ; equitably divided amongst all the districts, it would be scarcely felt, at least it could not be called a grievance. To reconcile this extraordinary disproportion of the cause to the effect is impossible, and we shall therefore be very solicitous

citous to hear what progress is made by the supervisors in this object of their enquiries, since we more than expect the result will lay open a most iniquitous scene of oppression and speculation.

“ We shall now reply to your observations on the institution, amount, and application of each particular cess ; and here we are struck with a never-ceasing accumulation of expence in the article of Chelat Baha. Upon referring to the charges incurred before our accession to the dewannee, we find them so small as 83,000 rupees, and even since that period, each year has swelled to the account, till it has exceeded all bounds. We are sensible, that the custom of dresses made to the board have been one cause, and the defraying occasional charges from the treasury, and not from the nabob’s consummation as formerly has been another great source of the increase. As to the first, the institution came from Lord Clive, when he attended the first horneah, after the grant of the dewannee. It was recommended by his lordship to the council, as a form which cost little, and was nevertheless essential to the dignity of this administration ; and has been continued, we are persuaded, from that and no other motive, since interest could scarce be supposed to have a place in matters so trivial. But the grand abuse which has been increasing yearly in the admission of every rank to that honour, by which not only the charges have been augmented, but the intention of the custom itself prevented ; for so far from bestowing any particular distinction on members of the board, it has been the means of confounding all distinctions. We speak with a view both to

English gentlemen and domestics, and honorary placemen about the nabob and ministers. Henceforth we direct, that dresses, &c. be confined to members of the board alone, and to such amongst the natives who are entitled by their offices ; in which latter point, we cannot at this distance precisely determine, but leave to you to examine all pretension ; and we could wish to see the value of these dresses reduced, as well as more sparingly dealt. When these points are effected, we conceive the disbursements may be reduced to the footing of the first year of the dewannee, or perhaps lower.

“ The pisht bendy being a new cess since the year 1767, and imposed upon an extraordinary calamity, which had not happened for years before, and may not happen for years to come, we see no reason, after the banks had undergone one thorough repair, why so large a sum should still have been levied, and even a larger for these two last seasons, than that immediately succeeding the inundation. Since the practice of mhathute is so evidently pernicious, the good order in which you represent the banks to be at present, would afford a favourable opportunity for abolishing the general tax, and re-establishing the local one ; but the debt of 229,265 : 11 : 14, due to the merchants on account of former years, makes it necessary to suspend this resolution, as it is from the overplus of this cess whence we particularly hope to raise a fund for the discharge of that debt.

“ In the accounts, we observe the names and disbursements of the resum nizamat, and revenues of 10 annoes, blended together. It occurs
to

to us, that was the name as well as the office of the nizamat consigned to oblivion, and that cess consolidated with the resum of 10 annoes, we should thereby rid ourselves of one species of mhathute. Whether the presents made to the Mohours out of these cesses, might be discontinued partly or wholly, without producing a disgust and indifference, partly to the course of business, is an object we recommend to your consideration.

Under the head of bearers, some difference should be made between those who travel for amusement, or their own private affairs, and those who are called upon by duty. That bearers, &c. should be provided for, the former at the public expence, is in the highest sense unreasonable and profuse, and we direct these exceptions be carefully noted in future.

As you inform us, that no cess was collected on account of the resum of 10 annoes, before the year 1767, we are at a loss to know how the expence was defrayed before that period. From the materials before us, it would appear, that this resum was formerly collected on the amount of the bundibust, and only became a mhathute since the year 1767.

We request you will solve this doubt. For the future regulations of these cesses, two points must be effected :

1st. The limitation of the sum.

2d. The proportion that sum to the whole provinces. You fix the necessary at 350,000, we hope and believe, you have exceeded the reality in that calculation; for upon drawing a balance between the medium amount of former charges,
and

and the savings we have pointed out, there will remain a considerable balance from the sum of 350,000 to be appropriated to the payment of the debt of 229,265 : 11 : 14. However, this will best appear after the year's experience, and then, should the fund fall our expectations, something must be added to it, for the year ensuing, till the debt is discharged ; but to render any addition unnecessary, we expect every possible saving be applied to the above purpose.

Great partiality has been shown in the assessment of the mhathute. The extensive province of Decca, has paid only 5000 rupees to the refund of 10 annoes, and nothing to any other cess. Since we have held the dewannee, whilst Nudeah, comparatively a small district, has paid heavily to all ; and this inequality seems almost throughout all the whole province.

Your proposal of adding the mhathute to the bundibust, we do not altogether approve ; because, the collectors and zemindars might chance, in such case, to avail themselves of the ignorance of the ryotts, and clandestinely continue the separate collection under the old heads ; and, because the bundibust itself might be encroached upon to pay these extraordinary charges, should an unfavourable season make a reduction necessary. The ryott, who has been used to pay towards the pusbundy, the chelat baha, &c. according to the temporary resolves of government, or more properly the arbitrary decree of the collector, would scarcely think it a hardship when the sum he is to pay is fixed and proportioned ; whereas, an addition to the bundibust would give rise to evasions, from being an unusual thing, if from no other cause.

In

In short, our view is not so much to suppress the taxes, as to new model them ; and this we would perform by drawing a separate statement of them independant of the bundibust, by determining the gross sum, and by assessing each district according to its true cases and extent : the ryott, then, cannot be exposed to sudden demands, and perpetual alarms of new calls, and the pernicious influence of the mhathute will be in all respects effectually restrained.

If the allowance of 2000 rupees per month, annexed to the resident in lieu of the zemindar's contribution of provisions, be inclusive of the 3000 rupees, which is the stated salary, it is no more than is right ; if exclusive, it must be discontinued, though we are sensible your motives for receiving it, were no other than the example of your predecessor. We are inclined to believe the former supposition, because you only charge 1000 rupees in the Morejyl abstracts, and the salary of the resident was, we understand settled by Lord Clive, without being recorded."

" We beg our readers' indulgence on account
 " of the unavoidable repetitions found in the latter part of this work ; the reports of the committees appointed by the house of commons to
 " enquire into the state of the East India company, and the transactions of their principal servants, occasioned necessarily a retrospect of
 " their conduct for twenty years past ; and the several witnesses examined on the same subjects,
 " from their depositions summed up in the conclusion of this complicated narrative have caused
 " this tautology. Had we omitted several important

“portant examinations of the legislature, to lead
 “them into the labyrinth of the various scenes of
 “fraud, avarice, sordid knavery, cruelty, and
 “oppression exhibited in Hindostan, this perfor-
 “mance would have been incomplete, and the
 “crimes of the rapacious managers of India af-
 “fairs might have been palliated by the arts,
 “bribes, and corruption of these wealthy oppres-
 “sors. The object of this book, less voluminous
 “than several others lately published on a plan
 “not so extensive and so useful as ours, was not
 “mere entertainment ; it was calculated for the
 “information of those who are desirous to know
 “minutely, the motives and passions which have
 “kindled the Indian wars, and introduced a new
 “system of lawless government, in proportion to
 “the wonderful aggrandizement of a commercial
 “company ; who, either by ignorance in the di-
 “rectors, or their partiality to their servants,
 “have brought disgrace and infamy on the Eng-
 “lish name. Those who have long resided in
 “the peninsula of India, with the new emigrants
 “to the company’s establishments, will find within
 “a small compass, whatever is conducive to in-
 “struction and curiosity. Whatever illiberal re-
 “flections ungenerous critics have made to pre-
 “vent the sale of this book before it was finished,
 “contrary to precedents and equity, we dare af-
 “firm that no publication extant, contains the
 “same thread of military and civil transactions in
 “Hindostan, as this. We wish a multiplicity of
 “materials concerning events and occurrences that
 “have happened at the same period of time,
 “could have been arranged with more order and
 “precision.”

We

We find by the disbursements at the time of the pooneah betwixt Lord Clive, Mr. Maskelyne his kinsman, his lordship's committee and attendants to have amounted to 46,750l.

Read the following letter from the revenue council at Murshadabad, to the comptrolling committee of revenue, and referred by that board to us.

“ Hon. Sir and Sirs,

“ We have the pleasure to transmit you herewith the account current kistbundee, to the close of the demand for the Bengal month of cattle, by which you will observe, that the collections until that period are remarkable well kept up. We further take the liberty to transmit you a copy of the letter, and several statements laid before us by our accountant, preparatory to closing the books of this department to the end of April, 1771.

We have in consequence authorised him to make the adjusting entries contained in the statement, No. 2. but for making the further entries recommended in this letter, although they appear to us to be highly necessary, in order to clear the account dewannee soubah Bengal, or stock account, from the burthen of such heavy sums, which, as no recoveries are to be expected from them, constitute, in fact, nothing more than an imaginary valuation; yet, we conclude it will be proper to obtain for this purpose the sanction of the honourable the president and council, and we therefore request you will procure for us such orders as they may think necessary to this subject, as expeditiously as possible, that the books may be
balanced

'balanced in time, to be forwarded to Europe by the ships of this season. The explanation given by the accomptant of the sums which he is of opinion may be written off in the books, is, in itself, so full and distinct, that it would be superfluous to enter into any further elucidation here. We shall only say, therefore, that our sentiments entirely co-incide with his, and that the ultimate determination will rest with the honourable the president and council.

We are, with respect,

Hon. Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servants,

Murshadabad,
23 December, 1771.

James Alexander,
J. Graham."

Ordered, the inclosures be entered after this day's proceedings; and agreed, we reply therefore as follows;

To James Alexander, Esq; Chief, &c. council
of revenue at Murshadabad.

"The comptrolling committee of revenue having referred to us a letter addressed to them by your board, on the 23d ultimo, we have taken it into our consideration, and shall give you our opinion on the several heads proposed by your accomptant

accomptant to be written off your books, in the same order as they stand in this letter.

We cannot allow of having the balance in the collections of 1176 written off, without the orders of the court of directors being previously obtained for that purpose. But we think, that the balance uncollected of each year's revenue ought to have a separate head in the ledger, balance of 1176—balance of 1177. And such collections as may be made, from time to time, should be carried to the credit of that year in which they became balances. We are also of opinion, that the account current with merchants ought to remain in the books; for though Gaik Chund and Choep Damonda may at present be insolvents, they possibly may in length of time recover themselves.

As a balance of account current with the zemindars seems to have arisen from a ccs on account of the bha kelaut, we cannot deem them more accountable for this sum than the different districts, which are now in arrears 344,342, 3, 2, 2, on the same account; and as the latter are not considered to be any ways answerable for any collections on this head, we think, that their zemindars ought to be released from any demands from this sum, and do therefore authorise you to write off this balance.

You will likewise write off to profit and loss the balance of the boat account, kelaut account, pushtebundy, and zezum nazaret, they being articles of expence, and not in any manner recoverable.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Charles Croft, Accountant at Murshadabad, to James Alexander.

“ The sums that I think, Are as follows, viz.
with all due submission, may
be written off. That part of
the balance of revenue which
remains due of the collec-
tions of 1176, which there
is no reason to imagine will
ever be received, sicca ru-
pees - - - - - 1,683,876, 7, 13, 2

In the collection of so
large a revenue, some ba-
lance, I apprehend, is al-
ways to be expected in the
most favourable years; and
that little hopes of realizing
that balance can remain af-
ter the elapse of the succeed-
ing year, because the ba-
lance of this succeeding
year will always intervene to
be collected also. Thus the
balances will, in a series of
years, swell to an enormous
sum, and become a deception
in the honourable company's
estate, as all hopes of reali-
zing them will have long ex-
pired; as therefore the collec-
tions of the present balances,
outstanding in the different
districts, can never be expected
to amount to more than an equi-

valent

valent to the balances of 1177, the balances of 1176 may, as I have taken notice above, I humbly apprehend, be written off.

The balance of accounts current with merchants, of which there is due by gain, Chun 40,703 8, 17, 2, who is in an insolvent situation, and not able to pay it, and the rest by Anoep Damanda of Rookimpoor, rupees 3,176-7, who is in the same situation

43,879 1 18 0

The balance of the account current with zemindars, the particulars of which I beg leave to exhibit to you in No. 4. - - - - -

60,198 6 18 0

That part of the balance of the boat account, explained in the statement of that account, No. 5. - - - - -

1,15,710 15 13 0

The particulars referred to in the above statement, are undoubtedly charges which cannot enhance the value of the boats.

The balance of the chelat account - - - - -

344,342 3 2 2

Ditto of the pushtebundy -

90,159 0 0 0

Ditto of rezum nezaret -

15,000 0 0 0

2,353,166 3 5 0

The

The advances on account of the above three articles were heretofore made from the treasury, and afterwards replaced from the receipts of the taxes established for defraying them in the districts: but as all these taxes are now abolished, and the utmost that each district can yield consolidated into one ascertained revenue, no further receipts from these taxes can ever be expected, and the balance may, I apprehend, be wrote off.

Fort-William, May 9, 1770.

At a Select Committee.

Present,

The Hon. John Cartier, Esq; President, &c.

“ Measures being already taken for the relief of the province of Bengal, from the pernicious mode of taxation, called mhatute, the committee judge it adviseable to extend their enquiries to the province of Bahar, where there is reason to suppose that the same grievances are felt.

Resolved, That the following letter be wrote to the supervisor of Bahar, in order to obtain the fullest information in this particular.

To James Alexander, Esq; Supervisor of Bahar.

“ S I R,

“ As a practice has too much prevailed in Bengal to impose taxes under the name of Mhatute, to supply certain extraordinary charges of government,

ment, which being fluctuating and arbitrary, have been attended with great abuse in the collection, and particular hardships to the ryotts, we are desirous of knowing whether the same practice is pursued in Bahar, and what sums are levied on that account.

The charges of chelats distributed at the pooneah called Chelat Bahar, the repairs of banks to secure the country from inundations, called Pesh Bendy, the resum nezaret, or customs of the nazir, are the most considerable of these taxes—probably the first and third articles from similar tax in both provinces; the second you seem exempted from by situation.

Names may differ; but our meaning is, that you procure and transmit us an exact statement of all such sums as are collected, exclusive of the bundebust applied to extraordinary charges of government, and occasionally assessed on the districts.

We are, Sir,

Your most obedient,

Fort-William,
9th May, 1770.

Humble Servants."

At

At a Select Committee, the 9th of June, 1770.

Present,
The Hon. John Cartier, Esq; President, &c.

Read a letter from the supervisor of Bahar, dated the 24th of May, inclosing an account of the *extra collections of the province.*

“ Hon. Sir and Sirs,

“ I have been favoured with your orders of the 9th ultimo, in compliance with which I now inclose a particular account of all extra collections and taxes whatever, that are levied in the Bahar province, exclusive of bundebust. The expence of chelats conferred at any time on the aumils and zemindars, are regularly brought under the head of charges generally in the treasury account, transmitted by me monthly to the resident at the durbar, and no charge is incurred on the country for this article. A collection of about six thousand rupces a year were formerly established for the *resum nezaret*, or nazir's custom, but was abolished about three years ago by Maha Raga Sherabroy. The charge of *pushtebundy* is in this province but very trifling, and in such village where any precautions against inundations is necessary, the expence of repairing banks, &c. is defrayed by a kind of subscription among the inhabitants, without the interposition of government.

The

The present establishment of the dawkes incurs a heavy, as well as a very injurious expence on this country ; the two sets that are stationed exclusive of the company's, appear wholly superfluous ; and I would recommend that the necessary charges on this account be paid from the treasury, instead of its being levied on the pergunnahs, through which the chokey's are placed, and the same rule to be observed with all the other servants employed under the government.

I am, with great respect,

Hon. Sir, and Sir,

Your most obedient,

Patna,
24th of May, 1770.

Humble Servant,

JAMES ALEXANDER.

Account of all the collections in Subah Bahar, exclusive of the bundibuth, for the following purposes :

Custom of the dauroga of the cutchery,	7,670
Out of this he pays to the several aumils, vaqueels of the pergunnahs from whence it is received, a custom of 10 per cent.	
Custom of the arexbeggy	7,010
Out of this he pays the aumil's, vaqueels, 10 per cent.	

Custom

Custom of the Moonshees,	1,750
Paid to vaqueels, 10 per. cent.	
Custom of the keeper of the seals	2,000
Custom for the sewanny negar, &c. which was an office formerly established for sending advice of every transaction to court, and now held by Raja Gossaul, sent from Mahomed Reza Cawn,	7,001, 11, 6
Custom for the mutseddies, &c. for expences of the holy, and other holidays,	6,200
Collected for the expence of fruits, &c. presents to the nabob, and received by a dou-rago, who has charge of that business	1,170
	<hr/>
	33,803, 11, 6
	<hr/>

Commission on the treasury collected on the rents of one-fourth per cent. on the receipts, which supposing to be 4,000,000, is rupees 50,000, half of which is brought to the company's account, and the other half distributed as follows, viz.

Cash-

Cash-keeper of the nizamat	10,000
Dauroga of the treasury	5,100
Writers of ditto	2,400
Ditto, who keeps the accounts on the part of the supervisor	7,500
	<hr/>
	25,000
	<hr/>

Collected for an allowance appointed by lord Clive, for annual Yar Kawn, lately of 1,500 rupees per month.	18,000
Collections for the charges of dawks in the Bahar province, belonging to the English company, from Shatabad or Fullaka, 11 chokees, at 247,8 per month.	2,970
From Fullwary to Caramnassa, 13 ditto, at 292,8 per month	3,510
From Sircar Champaram, 13 at 292,8 per month	3,510
From Serris Kotomba, three ditto, at 678 per month.	810
	<hr/>
	10,800
	<hr/>

Belonging to the nizamat.

From Fulwary to Caramnassa, 13 chokees, at 292,8 per month.	3,510	
Sircar Serang to Hoesepore, 14 ditto, at 325 per month.	3,780	
VOL. IV.	D d	Sircar

Sircar Torhut, 7 ditto, at 1278 per month	1,530
Bahar, &c. 4 ditto, at 47 per month	564
Sircar Shahabad to Burfarat, 120 per month	1,440
Bottom Apore, 1 ditto, at 22 per month	270
Fikaway, 8 ditto, at 180 per month.	2,160
Nerhuit Saymay, at 120 per month	1,400
	<hr/>
	14,654
	<hr/>

Belonging to the nabob of Murshadabad.

From Tatuah, to Shadabad, 11 chokees, at 247,8 per month	2,470
From Fulwary to Caramnaffa, 13 ditto, at 292,8 per month	3,510
	<hr/>
	6,480
	<hr/>

JAMES ALEXANDER.

On a review of the several articles of the above account, it is resolved that the nabob's dawks be continued, as a proper mark of respect to government : but that the dawks of the nizamat be allowed only in such places, where the company have none, and in cross roads, where they may be
neces-

necessary to preserve the inland communication; Other deductions, the committee leave to the discretion of the supervisor, who must be the best judge of the propriety or impropriety of the customs appropriated to the different offices, as set forth in the accounts ; and agreed, the following letter be wrote to the supervisor of Bahar.

To James Alexander, Esq. supervisor of the province Bahar.

“ Sir,

“ We have received your letter of the 24th ult. inclosing the account of extra collections in the province of Bahar.

We request you will inform us for what services, and on what pretensions the salary of 1,500 rupes per month, was conferred by lord Clive on Mahomed Yar Cawn, for which we see a separate collection is made.

With respect to the nabob's dawks, to withdraw them would be rather injurious to his dignity ; but we can conceive no reason for maintaining dawks belonging to the nizamat (as it is expressed in your account) in places where the company's dawks are stationed. We direct, that all such dawks be withdrawn ; and that for the future the dawks of the nizamat be allowed only in the cross roads, where they may be necessary for preserving the inland communication open. As this is not the time for multiplying the issues from our treasury, we would not willingly introduce the innovation you propose in the payment of the dawks,
unless

unless it be clearly demonstrated, that no regular
tions or examples can prevent the present mode of
paying them from continuing a serious grievance
to the country.

Other charges in the account, we deem you
could curtail, as far as shall appear to you prudent
and proper.

We are, sir,

Fort-William,
June 9th, 1770.

Your most obedient,
Humble servant."

At a select committee, Sept. 15th, 1770.

Present.

The hon. John Cartier, Esq. president, &c.

" Hon. Sir, and Sirs,

" I have been favoured with your orders on
the subject of the extra collection in the Bahar pro-
vince, and shall pay due attention to them; the
nizamut dawks are already ordered to be with-
drawn, except from such places where no others
are stationed, and these are found necessary to pre-
serve a communication with the interior parts of
the country. From enquiry into the merits of the
claim of Ahmed Yar Cawn to the pension of 1,500
rupees per month, I can only learn, that he is a man
of some distinction, whose house and family are
plundered

"

plundered by Jaffier Ally Cawn, and that this allowance was settled for him by lord Clive.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Hon. Sir, and Sirs,

Your most obedient,

Patna,
Aug. 12, 1770.

Humble servant,

JAMES ALEXANDER."

Fort-William, April 26, 1771.

At a committee of revenue.

Present.

The hon. John Cartier, Esq. &c.

Extract of a letter from the revenue council at Murshadabad, to the governor and council, dated the 15th of April, 1771.

" We herewith transmit you a representation laid before us by the naib Duan, on the subject of your commands of the 18th ult.

The naib Duan's sentiments regarding the con-
ductions proposed in the bahahy khelauts.

With respect to the directions which the gentlemen of the council of Calcutta, in consequence of orders received from the honourable the court of directors, have transmitted to you for reducing the expence of the khelauts given at the pooneah to English gentlemen, to the officers of nizamat
and

and dewanee, the zemindars, and other inhabitants of the country, and their determinations subsequently pointed out. It is necessary that I should remark, that the ceremony of the pooneah has been established for a long series of time. If their directions, with regard to the president, the chief here, (who is second of their board) and the gentlemen of the council of Calcutta and Murshadabad, and carried into execution, the khelauts, which are meant to augment their name and dignity, will only tend to render them inconsiderable.

As to the zemindars and talookdars, the khelauts may be said to be a renewal of their funnuds, and a confirmation of their appointments; and to the officers of the nizamat they are an honorary distinction; it has, therefore, for a long succession of years been customary for the nazim, on the part of the king, to invest with khelauts the dewan, the agents of the dewan, and his own officers, and only such were accepted as were dismissed and recalled, and this ceremony has been long preserved. Last year it was reduced as low as possible, and I exerted my endeavours, that no part of this expence might be left unretrenched. Although the further saving by the regulation which is now laid down, is not an object of advantage or profit, yet if any reduction is made in the khelauts, it will be divulged to the world, and reflect discredit to all who receive them, whether English gentlemen, or officers of the nizamat, or dewanee; and if the officers of the nazim did not receive them, it will spread through the whole world that the nizamat is totally abolished; and in like manner with respect to me, if I do not receive them myself, it is no matter,

matter, because nobody shall know it ; but if my officers do not receive them, the name of the neabut duannee will also be extinguished. From the time that the company were first invested with the dewannee. lord Clive, Mr. Sykes, and the gentlemen of the committee and council, preserved the custom and ceremony of the pooneah, solely with an eye of these reasons : because, it had been an ancient institution ; because, it has augmented the honour of the people of business, so it would augment their attentions and assiduity ; and because it was considered a renewal of the funnuds of the zemindars and talookdars. As it has long been customary for the nazim of the province, in behalf of his majesty, to invest the dewan and his officers with this honour, and for the dewan to replace the expence of it to the nazim. From the khalfah, they appointed the charge of the khelauts to be defrayed from the company ; but reflecting at that time, that in such charge the company would incur a rash expence ; I, in order to counterpoise it, produced an obvious saving from the expences of the nizamat, established by lord Clive, Mr. Sykes, and the gentlemen of the council, and brought it to account of the company, so that no less might accrue to them. Now that it is the pleasure of the gentlemen to abridge the expence of khelauts, it appears, in my opinion, most advisable, that the expences should be entirely abolished from the company ; that in part of the savings, which to balance those charges I made in the expences of the nizamat, and paid to the company, the sum of rupees 225,000 be restored, to answer this addition of expence to the nizamat ;

and

and that the nazim of the country, agreeable to the ancient custom, in behalf of his majesty, yearly invests the several officers, &c, with khelauts according to their respective nations.

By this mode the ancient custom will be kept up, and their rank and dignity preserved. I have represented what appears to me most eligible ; as for the rest you are the judges.

Fort-William, May 30, 1771.
At a committee of revenue.

Present.
The hon. John Cartier, Esq. &c.

Extract of a letter from the council of revenue at Murshadabad, dated May 23, 1771, to the governor and council at Bengal.

“ We are sorry to find that our letter of the 16th of March, accompanied by the naib Duan’s opinion regarding the mahhute, has not given you full satisfaction on that subject. With respect to the establishment of the cesses at the sudder, the naib Duan has plainly expressed that the expences were of a nature not proper to be entered into the treasury account, and therefore a separate fund was erected, from whence they have been defrayed. This fund, however, extended no farther than the agreements with the zemindars, who consented to furnish this aid to government out of their then established revenue, without imposing any fresh tax on that account upon the ryotts. This led us to say, that it was a consolidated revenue in the
moffusil.

mofful. We should rather have said, that the baha, khelaut, &c, was (as far as we are yet informed) no mofful tax at all, but a tax upon the zemindars, payable out of their standard revenues before it commenced. The great increase of the expence of Baha, Chelaut, &c. took place with the cession of the dewannce to the company, and you are not unacquainted, that the zemindars have so inadequately performed their engagements, as to leave a balance due at the end of the Bengal year 1176 account, revenue, and mahhute, of no less than sixty lacks of rupees, instead of those of any utility or benefit arising to government from the establishment of this tax, it appears to us, to have furnished pleas for balances in the collections of both branches, and that what has been carried to the credit of the mahhute, has been a manifest curtailment of the collections of the bundebush, or revenue. From this reasoning and explanation, it is plain, that the balance due to the merchants for the cost of khelauts, &c. must ultimately be disbursed from the treasury, as five times the amount of the mahhute fixed for last year will remain on balance on the bundebush. However, if it is your pleasure, the sum of 350,000 rupees shall be transferred from the head of the revenues to the head of the mahhute, and the merchants balances, as well as the pooneah and pushtebundy expences, wrote off under the latter,

*Extract of the Bengal select consultation,
October, 5th, 1765.*

Present,

Lord Clive, president, &c.

The right hon. the president lays before the committee, a letter from Mahommed Reza Cawn, wherein he represents the manifold inconveniences resulting to public business, and the great obstruction arising to the collection of the revenues, from allowing the gentlemen of the factories of Decca and Luckypore to interfere in the affairs of government; and requests, in future neither they, nor their dependants, be suffered to hold farms, lend money to the zemindars, nor meddle in any respect whatever with the country government. And the committee taking into consideration the great injury that must necessarily arise to the company from any stop or impediment to the collection of the revenues, whereof they are now, since the royal grant of the dewannee, and the late agreement with the nabob, both the collectors and proprietors.

Resolved, That positive orders be issued to the chiefs or subordinates, and commanding officers of brigades, prohibiting them from lending money to the zemindars, or other servants of the government, on the security of lands by lease or mortgage, and also from exerting any degree of influence in the appointment to the public offices, or otherwise interfering, directly or indirectly, with the business of government, on pain of suspension.

Re-

Resolved, That the above orders be sent by the chiefs of subordinates, and commanding officers of the brigades, to the several gentlemen, and others acting under them in inferior stations, who are in like manner prohibited from lending money, holding lands, &c. under the same pains and penalties.

Resolved, That we enjoin the chiefs and several agents at the subordinates settlements to confine themselves strictly to the business of the company's trade, and their own, and that the necessary correspondence, on this account, be carried on by the chief only, who shall lay his country correspondence once every month before his council, and transmit the same every six months at least, to the government and council.

Fort-William, Oct. 5, 1765.

Present.

The right hon. lord Clive, president, &c.

At a select committee.

From Mahommed Reza Cawn, received
Oct. 4, 1765.

There are many persons, who, with the pretence of debts being due to them, making use of the name of the factory, disturb the zemindars and districts of the chuila of Jehangeer, Nugger, and sending poens to seize people, obstruct the revenues of the sicar. The particulars are very long, but I briefly mentioned the matter to
you

at Mootagyl. Moreover, several evasive zemindars and talookdars, borrow more or less from the dependants of the factories, and when their rents are demanded from them, go and shelter themselves under their protection, so as to be out of the power of the aumils. With the pretences of debts being due from them, they carry their creditors into their districts, and embezzle the revenues, so that the money of the fircar remains unpaid; and spreading about reports that numbers of villages are rented to the dependants of the factory, they practice villainous tricks. I accordingly receive from the aumils frequent complaints of their proceedings. As I do not conceive that the interruptions of the revenues of the fircar can be put a stop to, without removing these pretences, I hope you will be kind enough to write to the gentlemen of the factories of Jahangeer, Nugger, and Luckypore, &c. that none of the dependants of the factory must lend money to the zemindars, &c. without the knowledge of the aumil, nor hold any farms, nor interfere with the affairs of the country, nor send any people into the districts, and make a disturbance; and, that whatsoever demands they have upon the zemindars, &c. they must lay the accounts thereof before Jaffarut Caum, the naib at Jahangeer Nugger, that he may oblige the zemindars to pay whatever is just.

At

At a select committee, Dec. 30, 1766.

Present.

The right hon. lord Clive, president, &c.

The select committee having on the fifth day of October, 1765, issued orders that no company's servants, their dependants, or other British subjects, should lend money upon lease, mortgage, or otherwise, to the zemindars and officers of the government, without consent of Mahommed Reza Cawn, and the other ministers; and advice being received that this order has been transgressed, to the great detriment of the collections :

Resolved, That we now enforce the above order, that no money shall in future be lent, except on respondentia, upon any pretence whatever, at a higher interest than twelve per cent. per annum; that all sums of money outstanding at a higher premium, shall be recalled on the 11th day of April next : and that we write the following letter to the chiefs of all the subordinates factories, and the residents at Burdwan and Midnapore.

To J. Cartier, Esq. chief at Decca.

“ Sir,

“ On the fifth of October, 1765, the select committee issued orders, that no civil or military servant of the company, their banyans, or dependants, &c. should, after that date, lend money upon lease, mortgage, or otherwise, to the zemindars,



dars, or other officers of government, without the knowledge and consent of Mahommed Reza Cawn, and the ministers.

It is with concern we now understand, that this order has been disregarded, to the great prejudice of the revenue, and injury of the company; we therefore direct, that you will make strict enquiry who are the transgressors, and transmit to us the names of all such as have lent out money without obtaining the approbation of the ministers, and contrary to the injunctions of the select committee. At the same time, it is our positive resolution, that henceforward no British subjects in, or out of the company's service, or their dependants, shall lend money, unless upon respondentia, at a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent. per annum; and that such sums of money as has been lent at a higher interest, shall be recalled on the 11th day of April next, on pain of immediate dismission, and forfeiture of the company's protection; of which resolution, we direct you will make publication in due form, taking the most effectual steps to see it strictly obeyed.

We are, Sir,

Dec. 30.
1766.

Your humble servants."

Copy

Copy of the 50th Paragraph of the general Letter
to Bengal, dated the 23d of March, 1759.

“ You did very right in forbidding Europeans holding the farms of any lands, towns, or villages, without the company’s boundaries; nor do we much approve of it within our own jurisdiction; however, as it sometimes may possibly prove of public advantage to have monied men, not in our service, to be competitors, we do not lay you under restrictions as such persons; but we absolutely and positively forbid our covenant servants holding any lands, towns, or villages, directly or indirectly, either within or without our jurisdiction, or be interested in any contracts with the company; for such shall assuredly forfeit our service: our reasons for this restraint must be so obvious, that an explanation is unnecessary. We are further to remark, that the late troubles at Telli-cherry, which proved almost fatal to that settlement, took rise from a dispute with our linguist and the prince of that country, relative to lands, he, the linguist, held at Mount Dilly; therefore should any of the natives or inhabitants who held posts in Calcutta, or under our protection, possess territories without our limits, they are, in all differences which may arise with respect to such property, to settle them as Indians, but under no sanction as subjects to the company; for it is our positive direction, that the affairs of such persons shall not embarrass or involve ours.

Extract

Extract of a general Letter of the Court of Directors, to Fort-William, dated 13 March, 1761.

“ A judicious management and improvement of our new-acquired lands we must strongly recommend to your most serious consideration; it is a very extensive object; great circumspection, vigilance, assiduity, and integrity, must be exercised, or we may suffer very heavily, either through neglect or misconduct. Peruse our sentiments upon this subject, in our letter of the 1st of April, 1760, and compare them with the rules and regulations laid down before our said letter reached Bengal; neither can it be in any degree perfect; they may serve as outlines to a plan which observation and experience may alter and amend for our benefit. We therefore now revoke all restrictions, and if you are perfectly satisfied, that no ill conveniences can arise from our servants farming any part, we shall not object to it; but, then, assign your reasons for our observation. The division of those lands into single lots, and selling them at public auction, in the presence of the governor and council, are commendable and judicious steps: could they hereafter be farmed out in smaller lots, our revenues, we apprehend, would be greatly increased.”

Extract

Extract of the Company's Letter to the Select Committee at Bengal, dated the 17th of May, 1766.

" We have on a former occasion, in our letter of the 13th of March, 1761, paragraph 57, permitted our servants to bid at the public sale of the Calcutta lands; but we could not conceive such an indulgence could ever be construed to admit servants employed in the collection of the revenues of a province, to select out the most profitable lands for themselves; for such is the light in which this transaction appears to us: and it is one more striking proof of the general corruption with which all ranks were tainted, and of the ill use that has been made of every indulgence. We direct a strict scrutiny into this affair; and if it proves true, that you will make a proper example of the offenders, by dismissing them our service.

This transaction convinces us of the necessity of shutting the doors to abuses; and we therefore positively order, that no covenanted servant, or Englishman residing under our protection, shall be suffered to hold any land for his own account, directly or indirectly, in his own name, or that of others, or to be concerned in any farms or revenues whatsoever.

The committee of secrecy finding in the dispatches lately received by the court of directors from the president and council at Fort-William, in Bengal, several important matters respecting the revenue of Bengal and Bahar, which appears to them highly worthy the attention of the House in

the present juncture, they think it their duty to report the same to the House, in addition to the report they have already made concerning the revenues of those provinces.

And your committee find, that the court of directors having, by their letter to the president and council at Fort-William, dated the 28th of August, 1771, signified their determination to stand forth as duan, and by the agency of the company's servants, to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues; and having, therefore, authorised and required the president and council to divest Mahomed Reza Cawn, and every person employed by him, or in conjunction with him, or acting under his influence, of any further charge or direction in the business of the collections, and having expressed their confidence, that the president and council in the office of duan would adopt such regulations, and pursue such measures, as should at once insure to the company every possible advantage, and free the ryotts from the oppressions of zemindars and petty tyrants, under which they have been suffered to remain; and having directed them at the same time to substitute, in the place of Mahomed Reza Cawn, a minister to transact political affairs at the sicca, and to select for that purpose some persons well qualified for the affairs of government, and of whose attachment to the company's interest they are well assured, and to recommend him to the nabob, and to succeed Mahomed Reza Cawn as minister of the government, and guardian of the nabob's minority; and to make him an annual allowance not exceeding three lacks of rupees. The president

dent and council took the said order into consideration, and have removed Mahomed Reza Cawn from the office of naib duan for the province of Bengal, and Shitabroy from the same office for the province of Bahar; and issued, at the same time, a proclamation at Murshadabad and at Patna, advertising the removal of those officers, and of the abolition of the office of naib duan of the provinces; and they directed the chief and council of revenue at Murshadabad, and the chief and council at Patna, to take charge, for the present, of the office of duan of their respective provinces, until a proper plan could be settled for the management of that important business; and they have appointed Manu Begum, relict of the late nabob Jassiat Aly Cawn, guardian of the nabob, and Raja Goordais, the son of Maharajah Nuncomar, duan of the nabob's household, allowing to the said Manu Begum a salary of 140,000 rupees per annum; and to the said Raja Goordais, for himself and officers, 100,000 rupees per annum.

And your committee find, that the president have, in consequence of the before-mentioned orders, made several regulations for the future management of the revenues, and of the khālfa, or superior, office of revenue, which regulations are contained in an extract of the general letter from the president and council in the revenue department, the 3d of November, 1772, and in the consultations of the committee of revenue at Fort-William, of the 14th and 28th of May, 1772; and in the proceedings of the committee of circuit, of the 28th of July, and 20th of August, 1772, on forming a plan for conducting the business of the

the khalsa; which several papers your committee have thought proper to lay before the House in this report, and are as follows, viz.

To the Honourable Court of Directors.

“ Hon. Sirs,

“ In our address by the Colebrook, dated the 13th of April last, we acquainted you with the state of your revenues in Bengal to that period; since which we have closed the account of the neat settlements and collections for the last Bengal year, a copy of which we now transmit in this packet. From it you will please to observe, that the total receipts, including some deductions written off to profit and loss in the Murshadabad treasury, amounted for last year to sicca rupees 15,726,576 : 10 : 2 : 1; so that the balances for that year are now reduced to rupees 1,240,812 : 7 : 15, a great part of which we shall still hope to realize; and we flatter ourselves, that this reduction of the balances, and the comparative view we hope you will take of the Bengal collections for these several years past, with those of the last year, will fully satisfy you as to the favourable success we have met with in the collection of the revenues. The Murshadabad books that will be transmitted you by the next ship, completely balanced, will further elucidate the statement of the last year's revenue, which we have now the honour of inclosing.

At a meeting of your council of the 30th of August, it was unanimously resolved to adopt the plan

plan proposed by our president and members of the committee of circuit at Cossimbuzar, for removing the seat of the revenue business to the presidency; and for putting this important branch of your affairs under the immediate management of your governor and council; in consequence of which we formed ourselves into a board of revenue the 13th ult. since that time all affairs respecting the collections, or internal government of the provinces, have been confined solely to this department; and we shall henceforth address you separately upon all matters which come under these heads.

In order to give you a distinct idea of this subject, and to make it the more complete, we shall begin by recapitulating the most important measures that have been lately taken, and of which you have been in part advised in our former letters.

In our letter by the Nottingham, you were informed of our intention of letting the lands throughout the provinces in farms upon long and well-regulated leases; and we are happy to reflect, that such a material and principal mode of conducting the collections, should co-incide so entirely with your sentiments and orders on the subject. After the most serious and mature deliberations on this point, we determined, in our proceedings of the committee of revenue, of the 14th of May, to establish a plan for settling the several districts upon this footing, and for the future government of your collections. This being the constitutional ground-work of all our subsequent measures, and of the system which we have

have since attempted to build upon it; we have thought it necessary for your more immediate attention, to transmit you a copy of it, as a number, in the packet, with our reasons at large for adopting the regulations therein laid down.

Before we proceed further upon this subject, it may not be improper to premise some general remarks on the state of the province at this juncture.

The dreadful effects of the famine which visited these provinces in the year 1770, and raged during the whole course of that year, have been regularly made known to you by our former advices, and to the public by laboured descriptions, in which every circumstance of fact, and every art of language have been accumulated to raise compassion, and to excite indignation against your servants, whose unhappy lot it was to be the witnesses and spectators of the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. But its influence on the revenues has been yet unnoticed, and even unfelt but by those from whom it is collected; for notwithstanding the loss of at least one third of the inhabitants of the province, and the consequent decrease of the cultivation, the net collections of the year 1771, exceeded even those of 1768, as will appear from the following abstracts of accounts of the board of revenue at Murshadabad, for the four last years.

Bengal

Bengal Year.

1175, or 1758,	net collections	15,254,856, 9, 4, 3
1176, or 1759	{ The year of dearth which was produc- tive of famine in the following year. }	13,149,138, 6, 3, 2
1177, or 1770		
1178, or 1771	{ The year of famine and mortality. }	14,006,148, 7, 3, 2
Deduct the amount of the deficiency occasioned in the revenue by una- voidable losses to go- vernment.		15,726,576, 11, 2, 1
		392,015, 11, 12, 3
		15,333,660, 14, 9, 2

It was naturally to be expected that the diminutions of the revenue should have kept an equal pace with the other consequences of so great a calamity; that it did not, was owing to its being violently kept up to its former standard. To ascertain all the means by which this was effected, will not be easy; it is difficult to trace the progress of the collections through all its intricate channels, or even to comprehend all the articles which compose the revenue in its first operations. One tax, however, we will endeavour to describe, as it may serve to account for the equality which has been preserved in the past collections, and to which it has principally contributed. It is called *naja*, and is an assessment upon the actual inhabitants of every inferior division of the lands, to make up the loss sustained in the rents of their neighbours,

bours, who are either dead, or have fled the country. This tax, though equally impolitic in its institution, and oppressive in the mode of exacting it, was authorised by the ancient and general usage of the country. It had not the sanction of government, but took place as a matter of course. In ordinary cases, and while the lands were in a state of cultivation, it was scarcely felt, and never, or rarely complained of. However irreconcilable to strict justice, it afforded a reparation to the state for occasional deficiencies; it was a kind of security against desertions, by making the inhabitants thus mutually responsible for each other, and precluded the inferior collector from availing himself of the pretext of waste or deserted lands, to withhold any part of his collections. But the same practice, which at another time, and under different circumstances, would have been beneficial, because, at this period, an insupportable burthen upon the inhabitants. The tax not being levied by any fixed rate, or standard, fell heaviest upon the wretched survivors of those villages which had suffered the greatest depopulation, and of course the most entitled to the lenity of government. It had also this additional evil attending it, in common with every other variation from the regular practice, that it afforded an opportunity to the farmers and shiedars to levy other contributions on the people upon colour of it; and even to increase this to whatever magnitude they pleased, since they were in course, the judges of the loss sustained, and of the proportion which the inhabitants were to pay to replace it.

Com-

Complaints against this grievance were universal throughout the province, and it was to be feared, that the continuance of it would be to great a check to the industry of the people, as to impoverish the revenue in the last degree, when their former savings, by which it was supported, were gone.

Though seven years had elapsed since the company became possessed of the dewannee, yet no regular process had ever been formed for conducting the business of the revenue. Every zemindar and taalok was left to its own particular customs. These, indeed, were not inviolably adhered to, the novelty of the business to those who were appointed to superintend it, the chicanery of the people whom they were obliged to employ as their agents, the accidental exigencies of each district, and not unfrequently the just discernment of the collector, occasioned many charges. Every charge added to the confusion which involved the whole, and few were either authorized, or known by the presiding members of the government. The articles which compose the revenue, the form of keeping accounts, the computation of time, even the technical terms, which ever form the greatest part of the obscurity of every science, differed as much as the soil and the productions of the province. This confusion had its origin in the nature of the former government. The nazims exacted what they could from the zemindars, and great farmers of the revenue, whom they left at liberty to plunder all below, reserving to themselves the prerogative of plundering them in their turn, when they were supposed to have enriched them-

selves with the spoils of the country. The mutseddees who stood between the nazim and the zemindars, or between them and the people, had each their respective shares of the public wealth. These profits were considered as illegal embezzlements, and therefore were taken with every caution which could insure secrecy; and being consequently fixed by no rule, dependant on the temper, abilities, or power, of each individual, for the amount. It therefore became a duty to every man to take the most effectual measures to conceal the value of his property, and elude enquiry into his conduct, while the zemindars and other land-holders, who had the advantage of long possessions, availed themselves of it by complex divisions of the lands, and intricate modes of collection, to perplex the officers of the government, and confine the knowledge of the rents to themselves. It will be easily imagined, that much of the current wealth stopped in its way to the public treasury.

It is rather foreign from the purpose of this exposition, but too apposite not to be remarked, that it was fortunate such a system did prevail, since the embezzlements which it covered preserved the current specie of the country, and returned it into circulation, while a great part of the wealth received by the government was expended in the country, and but a small superfluity remained for remittances to the court of Delhy, where it was lost for ever to this province.

To the original defects inherent in the constitution of these provinces, were added the unequal and unsettled government of them. Since they
be-

became our property, a part of the lands which were before in our possession, such as Burdwan, Middapore, and Chittagong, continued subject to the authority of their chiefs, who were immediately accountable to the presidency. The twenty-four pergunnahs granted by the treaty of Plassey, to the company, were theirs on a different tenure, being their immediate property by the exclusion of the zemindars, or hereditary proprietors; their rents were received by agents appointed to each pergunnah, and remitted to the collector, who resided in Calcutta; the rest of the province was for some time entrusted to the joint charge of the naib Duan, and resident of the durbar, and afterwards to the council of revenue at Murshadabad, and to the supervisors who were accountable to that council. The administration itself was totally excluded from a concern in this branch of the revenue.

The internal arrangement of each district varied no less than that of the whole province.

The lands subject to the same collectors, and intermixed with each other, were some held by farm, some superintended by shicdars, or agents on the part of the collector, and some left to the zemindars or talookdars themselves, under various degrees of controul. The first were racked without mercy, because the leases were but of a year's standing, and the farmer had no interest or check to restrain him from exacting more than the land could bear; the second were equally drained, and their rents embezzled, as it was not possible for the collector, with the greatest degree of attention on his part, to detect, or prevent it; the latter,

ter, it may be supposed, were not excepted from the general corruption? if they were, the other lands which lay near them would suffer by the migration of their inhabitants, who would naturally seek refuge from oppression in a milder, and more equitable government.

The administration of justice has so intimated a connection with the revenue, that we cannot omit the mention of it, while we are treating of this subject in a general view, although we have already given our sentiments upon it at large in another place, to which we shall beg leave to refer.

The security of private property is the greatest encouragement to industry, on which the wealth of every state depends. The limitation of the powers annexed to the magistracy, the suppression of every usurpation of them by private authority, and the facilitating of the access to justice, were the only means by which such a security would be obtained. But this was impossible under the circumstances which had hitherto prevailed. While the nizamat and the dewannee were in different hands, and all the rights of the former were admitted, the courts of justice, which were the sole province of the nazim, though constituted for the general relief of the subjects, could receive no information. The court and officers of the nizamat were continued, but its efficacy was destroyed by the ruling influence of the dewannee. The regular course of justice was every where suspended, but every man exercised it, who had the power of compelling others to submit to his decisions. The people were oppressed, they were dis-

discouraged, and disabled from improving the culture of their lands, and in proportion as they had their demands of individuals to gratify, they were prevented from discharging what was legally due to government.

Such was the state of the revenue when your commands were received by the Lapwing, and happily removed the difficulties which had hitherto opposed the introduction of a more perfect system, by abolishing the office of naib duan, and authorising your administration to assume openly the management of dewannee in your name, without any foreign intervention.

In the execution of these your intentions, the points which claimed our principle attention, as will appear by the above description, were, to render the accounts of the revenue simple and intelligible, to establish fixed rules for the collections, to make the mode of them uniform in all parts of the province, and to provide for an equal administration of justice. In the steps we have already taken, we have laboured to attain these ends ; with what success will be seen hereafter.

The regulations which we have before mentioned being completed, and the committee of circuit appointed, consisting of the governor, Messieurs Middleton, Dacres, Lawrell, and Graham, we published our intentions of farming all the lands of the province of Bengal in leases of five years, and invited all persons to make proposals.

The committee first proceeded to Kishennagur, and there entered on the settlement of the districts of Nuddea. The proposals which were there delivered

livered to them were expressed in so vague and uncertain a manner, and differed so widely from one another in form, that it was impossible to make a comparison, or to ascertain the proportionable amount of each; and the few only that were intelligible, contained very low and disadvantageous terms. The committee were therefore of opinion, that those offers should be rejected, and that the lands should be put up at public auction, though contrary to the original intention. To remove all obstacles that might present themselves from an uncertainty in the bidders, with respect to the more minute articles of the collections, and the grounds on which the settlement was to be established between the farmer and cultivator; the committee found it indispensably necessary, before the sale began, to form an entire new hustabood, or explanation of the diverse and complex articles which were to compose the collections. These consisted of the assall, or original ground-rent, and a variety of taxes called aboals, which had been indiscriminately levied at different periods by the government, the zemindars, farmers, and even by the inferior collectors. One of these aboals we have explained above; many of them are incapable of any explanation.

After the committee had made a thorough investigation of the above articles of the revenue, they proposed to deduct such as appeared most oppressive to the inhabitants, or of a late establishment, at the same time reserving those which were of long standing, and had been cheerfully submitted to by the ryotts, these being, in fact, a considerable

considerable part of the neat rents. Among the former were the duties arbitrarily levied by the zemindars and farmers upon all goods and necessities of life passing by water through the interior parts of the country. The razee jumma, or fines for petty crimes or misdemeanors, were also agreeably to your humane and equitable spirit of your orders, totally abolished, as well as the haldarry, or tax upon marriage, which yielded a trifling revenue to the government, was very injurious to the state, and could tend only to the discouragement and decrease of population, an object at all times of general importance; but more especially at this period, from the great loss of inhabitants which the country has sustained by the late famine, and the mortality which attended it. These several destructions in favour of the natives, although the immediate cause of decreasing the rent-roll, will, doubtless, in time, be productive of the most salutary effects, as they tend to encourage the manufacturers and trade of the country, to retrieve the loss of inhabitants, to free the people from vexatious prosecutions, and, by promoting the general ease of the country, virtually to support and improve its revenue.

In order to secure the inhabitants in the quiet possession of the lands, whilst they held them on terms of cultivation, and to prevent such exactions as afore-mentioned in future, the committee formed new amulnamas, or leases, in which the claims upon the ryotts were precisely and distinctly ascertained, and the farmers restricted making any further demands under the severest penalties. To this end, and to prevent the farmers

farmers from eluding this restriction they were ordered to grant new pottahs, or deeds, to the ryotts, the form of which was drawn out by the committee, and made public, specifying the conditions on which they were to hold their lands, the separate heads or articles of the rents; and every encouragement was contained in them to cultivate the waste ground on a moderate and increasing rent.

Another principal object which the committee, was to reduce the charges of collection as low as possible, from a conviction, that the retrenchment of unproper and unnecessary expences opens a source of increase of revenue, the most eligible, because the most consistent with the ease of the inhabitants. For this purpose, we have formed an uniform and regular establishment for all the necessary charges to be incurred in the cutcherries of the several districts, under positive restrictions, that they shall not be exceeded without our being previously advised. This, we doubt not, will be a great saving to the honourable company, as it will be an effectual means of preventing in future all superfluous and unnecessary disbursements; and we think, we may venture to promise, that this article will be duly attended to, as it will be almost the only care of the creditor to prevent every deviation from it in the accounts which are to pass his inspection.

After these previous steps were resolved on, the lands of Kishennagur were put up to public auction, and a final settlement was made for five years on an accumulating increase; for the particulars of which we must beg leave to refer you to the

the proceedings of the committee which are now transmitted.

During the course of the sale at Kishennagur, the rajar of that place, gave in proposals for farming the whole district, which leads us to the following general observations on the subject of the zemindars and talookdars, in the province of Bengal.

Where it can be done with propriety, the intrusting the collections of the districts to the hereditary zemindars, would be a measure we would be very willing to adopt, as we believe the people will be treated with more tenderness, the rents more improved, and the cultivation more likely to be encouraged; the zemindars less liable to failure or deficiencies than the farmer, from the perpetual interest which the farmer hath in the country, and because his inheritance cannot be removed; and it would be improbable he would risque the loss of it by cloping from his district, which is too frequently practised by a farmer when he is hardly pressed for the payment of his balances, and as frequently pre-determined when he receives his farm.

With respect to the talookdarries and inconsiderable zemindaries, which formed a part of the huzzon zelabs, or districts, which paid their rents immediately to the general cutcherry, at Murshadabad, as well as many others of the same kind in different parts of Bengal, all arguments have been weighed, whether in favour of the just claim government has upon their lands for a revenue adequate to their real value, or of the zemindars and talookdars in support of their rights

and privileges, grounded upon the possession of regular grants, a long series of family succession and fair purchase. These being duly considered, there occurred to us only the two following modes which could be pursued in making their settlements. The first was, to let their lands to farm, to put the renters in entire possession and authority over them, obliging them to pay each zemindar or talookdar a certain allowance for the subsistence of himself and family. The second was, to settle with the zemindars themselves on the footing of farmers, obliging them first to enter into all the conditions of a farmer's lease : secondly, to pay the same revenue that could be expected from farmers ; thirdly, to give responsible securities ; and fourthly, to admit a reserve in favour of government, for making, during the course of their actual lease, an extract hushabard, (valuations from accounts) or a measurement of their possessions, in order to ascertain their true value at a future settlement, should the present accounts be found fallacious, or concealments suspected. We have allowed a degree of weight to the arguments of the zemindars and talookdars in favour of their plea of right, which, by adopting the first mode of settlement, would, doubtless, be exposed to risk ; for as the authority given to farmers would reduce the present incumbents to the level of mere pensioners, and greatly weaken their claims as proprietors, so, in the course of a few long leases, their rights and titles might, from the designs of the farmers to establish themselves in their estates ; the death of the old inheritors, and the succession
of

of minors, be involved in such obscurity, doubts, and controversy, as to deprive them totally of their inheritance. To expose the zemindars and talookdars to this risk, is neither consistent with our notions of equity, nor with your orders, which direct, that we do not by any sudden change, alter the constitution, nor deprive the zemindars, &c. of their right, ancient privileges, and immunities. Another argument drawn from the conduct naturally to be expected from the zemindars and talookdars, weighed strongly with us, and proves an objection to adopting the first mode. From a long continuance of the lands in their families, it is to be concluded, they have riveted an authority in the district, acquired an ascendancy over the minds of the ryotts, and ingratiated their affections. From causes like these, if entire depreviation were to take place, there could not be expected less material effects than all the evils of a divided authority, prejudice to the revenue, and desertion and desolation to the lands; whereas, from continuing the lands under the management of those who have a natural and perpetual interest in their prosperity, provided their value is not of too great an amount, solid advantages may be expected to accrue. Every consideration then sways us, where it can be done with the prospect of the advantage before mentioned, to adopt the second mode in settling with the inferior zemindars and talookdars; first, an equivalent revenue may be thereby obtained, with security for its punctual payment; secondly, the converting them into farms, establishes the government's right of putting their lands on that footing

footing whenever they shall think proper, the awe of which must constantly operate to ensure their good behaviour and good management ; thirdly, the clause of scrutiny, to which they are subjected, will also have the same tendency, at the same time that it may be strictly put in force where there is cause to suspect concealments, or a prospect present itself of encrease to the revenue.

Agreeable to these ideas, the committee at Kishenagur exempted the several talooks in that district from the public sale, as the possessors engaged to abide by such a settlement as should be deemed equivalent and just ; and an exact valuation was accordingly made of their lands. It was, however, found, that the terms offered by the zemindars of Kishenagur, as before mentioned, were not equivalent to the expectations the committee had reason to entertain from the public auction of the several farms ; and faith of government having been already engaged to such farmers, whose offers had been formerly accepted : for these reasons, joined with the well known, subtle, and faithless character of the zemindar, it was determined to reject his proposals, and to give the preference to the offers of the farmers, which were more advantageous to government.

The settlement of Kishenagur being concluded, a fixed dewan was chosen by the committee, to be joined with the collector in the superintendency of the revenues, conformable to our established regulations before referred to, and instructions were accordingly given him for his guidance.

We have been thus explicit in relating the transactions of Kishenagur, both as these will
serve

serve to point out the various effects of our previous determinations, as well as the motives which gave occasion to those which were super-added by the committee, from local or general observations; and to convey an idea of the plan, on which the settlement of the whole province will be formed, of which that of Kishenagur may be regarded as the model.

The province of Radshahy, and the Huzzor Zelahs, were taken next into consideration, and the same regulations established previous to their settlement, as at Kishenagur; public advertisements being made for receiving proposals for the farming the different 'purgunnahs' in Radshahy, and a proper time limited for their delivery. The terms given in for the whole of the western division were examined, and the offers of the farmers and zemindars accurately compared. Those of the latter were found more advantageous to government; a settlement for five years was accordingly concluded with the Ranny Bowanny, the zemindar of that district, whose substance, credit, and character, rendered the conditions of her offer the more desirable, especially as she consented to the committee's plan of subdividing the lands in fourteen lots, or farms, and engaged to deposit the farmers' cabooleats, or agreements, as a collateral security with her own, for the punctual payments of her rents. No other proposals being given in for the eastern division of the Radshahs, it was in like manner farmed to the zemindar, whose knowledge of, and long-established reputation in the country, enabled her to make
more

more advantageous offers for this also, than any other person; and we doubt not, but we shall realize the whole of the revenue from these important and extensive districts, which will receive an additional advantage, besides a reduction of the expences of the collections, in being thus united under their hereditary and ancient proprietors.

The Huzzor Zelahs, and the inferior zemindaries and talookdaries, bordering on Murshadabad and Radshahy, were also settled on the same plan, a preference being always given to the offers of hereditary possessors, as before observed. But as it would take up too much of your time to descend to a minute detail of these numerous settlements, we must take the liberty of referring you to the proceedings of the committee of circuit: you will therein notice, that we have appointed five additional collectors to superintend the revenue of those districts. It was with some reluctance, we found ourselves under the necessity of encreasing the number of these appointments; they are rendered unavoidable by the intricacy of those parts of the Huzzor Zelahs, which have been thus distributed among them; but we hope, that the liberty which we have given the farmers, who may be so disposed, to pay their rents immediately to the sudder, or head cutcherry, will in time enable us to reduce those establishments.

In the interval of public business, the committee were employed in deliberating on the steps referred to them, which were proper to be taken

• for

for carrying into execution your late orders by the Lapwing; where you declare your intentions of " Standing forth as dewan, by the agency of the company's servants to assume the entire management of the revenues, leaving it to us to plan and execute this important work," by adopting such regulations, and pursuing such measures, as should at once ensure to the company every possible advantage.

The first consideration was, whether the board of revenue at Murshadabad should be abolished, and the business of its collections, in all its branches, put under the management of the members of your administration at the presidency; and after allowing due weight to every argument that occurred, we agreed unanimously with the committee, in the necessity of this last measure, which has accordingly been since carried into execution. We take the liberty of laying before you the grounds, upon we have ventured to make this alteration, in the flattering hopes that it will meet with your approval.

As the administration of justice, and the collection of the revenue, are by far the most important objects of the government, they certainly claim the first attention of your presidency and council; especially at a time when so many weighty matters, intimately connected with them, are entrusted by you to our investigation and judgment, and when the state of the country requires timely, well digested, and spirited measures. Whilst the controuling and executive part of the revenue, and the correspondence with the collectors, was carried on by a council at Murshadabad, the mem-
bers

bers of your administration had not an opportunity of acquiring that thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the revenue, which can only result from practical experience : but as your late orders tend to establish a new system, enjoin many new regulations and enquiries, which could not properly be delegated to a subordinate council, it became absolutely necessary, that the business of the revenue should be conducted under immediate observation and direction.

This charge, we trust, will afford great relief to the inhabitants of the provinces, in opening to them a more ready access to justice, inasmuch that appeals from the decisions of the inferior courts may now be made directly to the presidency, whereas formerly they were first transmitted to the council at Murshadabad, and from thence an appeal lay to us.

Another good consequence, will be the great increase of the inhabitants, and of wealth, in Calcutta, which will not only add to the consumption of our most valuable manufactures, imported from home, but will be the means of conveying to the natives a more intimate knowledge of our customs and manners, and of reconciling them to our policy and government.

Besides the reasons above urged, for the dissolution of the council at Murshadabad, we must beg leave to add this further argument, in reply to the objection which may possibly be made to it, as repugnant to your commands of the 13th of June, 1769. We now conceive them, however, to be superseded by your late orders, and the discretionary powers you have given us in your letters,

ters, by the Lapwing. Nevertheless, we should have thought ourselves indispensibly bound to have adhered to the spirit of them, as far as they could be made to coincide with the new system of the dewannee; but we found them totally subverted by it.

Whilst Murshadabad remained the seat of your collections, every consideration required the establishment of a council to superintend them, as it was a trust every way too great for an individual.

On these grounds alone, we presume, your orders for forming such council at Murshadabad and Patna, then framed: but when the office of naib Duan was abolished, and you had declared your resolution to place the collections under the immediate charge of your own servants, there remained no reason for continuing that department of the revenue at such a distance from the observation of your governor and council, and the removal of the collections to the presidency, as it left us no business for an inferior council, of course rendered their continuance, and the charges attending such an establishment, needless. We will indulge ourselves, therefore, with another hope, that an annual saving of some lacks of rupees will be derived from this alteration; although we are well aware of the expence and inconveniences which ever attend innovations of all kinds, on their first institution.

As the reasons for the removal of the khalfah are treated on very largely in the proceedings of the committee of circuit, of the 28th of July, and contain many observations on the nature of the revenue in general, which are too voluminous

to be inserted in the body of this letter ; we wish to recommend these to your particular attention.

The plan which we have formed for conducting the business of the khalsa, or superior office of the collections, will go in a number in the packet.

The more regular administration of justice was also deliberated on by the committee of circuit, and a plan was formed by them, which afterwards met with our approbation. We cannot give you a better idea of the grounds on which this was framed, than by referring you to a copy of it, together with a letter from the committee to the board on the occasion ; both of which makes numbers in this packet, and we earnestly recommend them to your perusal, requesting to be assisted with such farther orders and instructions thereon, as they may require for completing the system, which we have thus endeavoured to establish on the most equitable, solid, and permanent footing. We hope they will be read with that indulgence, which, we are humbly of opinion, is due to a work of this kind, undertaken on the plain principles of experience and common observation, without the advantages which an intimate knowledge of the theory of law might have afforded us. We have endeavoured to adapt our regulations to the manners and understanding of the people, and exigencies of the country, adhering as closely as we are able to their ancient usages and institutions. It will be still a work of some months, we fear, before they can be thoroughly established throughout the provinces ; but we shall think our labours amply recompensed,

periced, if they meet with your approbation, and are productive of the good effects we had in view.

Our president returned to Calcutta, about the middle of September; Mr. Middleton remained at Murshadabad to take charge of his appointments; and the other three members of the committee of circuit, proceeded to Decca, where they are now employed in making the settlement of that province and the adjacent districts, after which they will continue their tour to the remaining divisions on the eastern sides of Bengal; and we hope to transmit the farther particulars of their proceedings, by one of the ships of this season, together with a complete statement of your revenue for the following five years.

Besides the general plan before-mentioned for regulating the new system for conducting the revenues, and the several other points therein referred to, the committee of revenue at the presidency, composed of the remaining members of your council, were employed in preparing the settlements of the districts of Hughley, Midnapore, Beerbhoom, Jessore, and the Calcutta lands, together with the districts allotted to the committee of circuit, complete the whole of Bengal, excepting Bardwan, where the lands are already let in farms in leases of five years, which do not expire to the end of the Bengal year 1182.

In consequence of the public advertisements for making the settlement of Hughley, a number of proposals for farming the lands were delivered in, and after an exact scrutiny was made into them, those which appeared to be the most advantageous

vantageous to government were accepted. It was originally intended to let them in small farms, but the offers for larger lots being so much higher than the others, we were tempted to prefer them. There were likewise many talookdaries and petty zemindaries in this district, the possessors of which represented to us the length of time they had held their lands, and the wretched condition they would be reduced to, were they now to be deprived of them, as they engaged to pay to government an increased rent, in proportion to their value : we were induced by the same motives as actuated the committee of circuit in similar instances, to continue to them their hereditary possessions. In one or two of the pergunnahs, some deductions were found necessary to be made, on account of the particular degree in which they suffered by the late famine ; but a favourable increase being added to the other pergunnahs, we have reason to be satisfied with the good success which has attended the settlement of Hughley, and its dependencies.

The settlement of Beerbhoom, Bissenpoor and Pacheah, has also been effected upon an increasing revenue, on a plan similar to the other farmed lands.

The districts of Jessore and Mahomed Shahy, are settled on terms advantageous to government, as appears by the accounts delivered in by Mr. Lane, a member of our board, who was deputed to accomplish that business ; and a full representation of his proceedings is recorded in the consultations of the 10th of August.

By

By the proceedings it appears, that the Calcutta lands have been completely farmed, but as some of the farmers have flown off from their engagements, and absconded, and the execution of the title deeds with the rest is delayed, we have hitherto been prevented from finally adjusting this business; we shall therefore defer transmitting a further statement of these lands till the next ship, as well as that of Midnapore, the settlement of which is now in great forwardness.

In pursuance of your positive injunctions, we have been endeavouring for some time past, to collect the fullest information concerning the salt business in Bengal, that we may be enabled to form such regulations as shall appear the best calculated for securing the duties of government upon that article, and for the general benefit of the trade; for our proceedings in these matters, as far as we have hitherto been able to effect, we refer you to the consultations now transmitted, and particularly to that of the 7th of October; and as this subject is one of the first that will fall under our consideration, we expect in our next advices to furnish you with a complete state of it.

The Hughley disputed balances of salt, which have been a matter of contention and difficulty for these two years past, we have at length happily adjusted, as recorded in our proceedings of the 1st of October.

The pusktebundy, or custom of Hughley, as well as those of the pachetra at Murshadabad, have not been let to farm, but continue to be collected by the officers of government, in order that no obstacle may occur in new modelling the
source

source of your revenue, agreeably to your instructions. At present we wait for advices and further light from the committee of circuit at Decca, concerning the shawbunder, or head custom-house in that district, being furnished with those, we shall proceed to form one general and uniform plan for the collection of duties, which will be duly transmitted for your information.

The humane attention shewn in your commands of the 30th of June, 1769, and recommended in many of your letters since that date, to the rights of the zemindars, who have inherited land from their ancestors, encourages us to solicit your compassion for the ancient proprietors of the twenty-four pergunnahs, or Calcutta lands, which became the company's zemindaries by the treaty of Plassey, and from which they were consequently dispossessed. A small part of those lands were before that time united with the zemindaries of Burdwan and Nuddea, whose zemindars are amply provided for. The other zemindars and talookdars have continued since that time in a state of extreme indigence; some of them have large families to maintain. It has been the usual rule of the Mogul government, when any zemindar was divested of authority, to allow him a subsistence out of the rents of his zemindary, proportioned to the annual income of it; this proportion commonly amounted to one tenth: we would not recommend so large an allowance for these people; we are persuaded that they will be contented with a much more moderate income, and receive it with gratitude. As this indulgence has been extended to all other zemindars in both the provinces, since
they

they were placed under your government, we have judged that this representation of the case of those who alone have been excluded from it would not be unacceptable to you.

As the settlement of the province of Bahar had been made for a term of years, and therefore did not require an immediate alteration, we shall wait to finish the whole of our regulations in Bengal before we attempt any innovations in that province. The only point on which we think we can give you any previous intimation of our future proceedings in those parts, is, that we deem it proper to unite the collections with those of Bengal, and establish the same regulations in both provinces, as soon as we can do it with convenience, and without adding to our present embarrassments.

We are, with great respect,

Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful,

Humble Servants,

(Signed) Warner Hastings, &c."

Fort-William, May 14, 1772.

At a Committee of Revenue.

Read and approved the proceedings of the 10th instant.

It has always been resolved, in consultation of the 16th ultimo, to let the lands of the province in

in farms, and for long leases ; and this resolution has been communicated to the court of directors in the last general letter. This, therefore, being the ground-work of our deliberations on the general measures which are to be taken for the future settlement of the collections, it may not be improper in this place to assign the reasons which have induced us to form these resolutions.

There is no doubt, that the new mode of letting the lands in farm, is in every respect the most eligible : it is the most simple, and therefore the best adapted to a government constituted like that of the company which cannot enter into the detail and minutia of the collections. Any mode of agency by which the rents might be received, is liable to uncertainty, to perplexed and inextricable accounts, to an infinity of little balances, and to embezzlements ; in a word, both the interest of the state and the property of the people must be at the mercy of the agents ; nor is it an object of trivial consideration, that the business of the service, already so great, that much of it is unavoidably neglected, would be thereby rendered so voluminous, and the attention of the board so divided, that nothing would be duly attended to ; the current affairs would fall into irrecoverable arrears, the resolutions upon them be precipitate and desultory, the authority of the government set at nought, the power which it must necessarily delegate to others would be abused, and the most pernicious consequences ensue, from the impossibility of finding time to examine and correct them : that such would be the case we with confidence affirm, since we already experience the existence of these

these evils in part, from the great encrease of affairs, which has devolved the charges of this government, and the want of a reduced system, no less than from a want of immediate inspection and execution. This is a point well worth the attention of the board, in every proposition that may come before them as essentially respecting the constitution and general interests of the company.

To let the lands for long leases is a necessary consequence of letting them: the farmer who holds his farm for one year only, having no interest in the next, takes what he can with the hand of rigour, which even in the execution of legal claims is often equivalent to violence: he is under the necessity of being rigid, and even cruel; for what is left in arrears after the expiration of his power, is at best a doubtful debt, if ever recoverable: he will be tempted to exceed the bounds of right, and to augment his income by irregular exactions, and by racking the tenants; for which pretence will not be wanting, where the farms pass annually from one hand to another. What should hinder him? He has nothing to lose by the desertion of the inhabitants, or the decay of cultivation: some of the richest articles of tillage require a length of time to come to perfection; the ground must be manured, banked, watered, ploughed, and sowed, or planted. These operations are begun in one season, and cost a heavy expence, which is to be repaid by the crops of the succeeding year. What farmer will either give encouragement or assistance to a culture to which another is to reap the fruits?

The discouragement which the tenants feel from being transferred every year to new landlords, are a great objection to such short leases. They contribute to injure the cultivation, and dispeople the lands; they deprive the industrious ryotts of those aids known by the appellation of tuccanbee, so essentially necessary to enable him to purchase cattle, seeds, and utensils of husbandry, which a more permanent farmer will ever find it his interest to supply, as a means of promoting an increased cultivation; and they of course prove an unsurmountable obstacle to bringing into an arable state, the immense tracts of waste land which overspread this fertile country.

The defects of short leases point out, as a necessary consequence, the opposite advantages of long farms.

From these the farmer acquires a permanent interest in his lands; he will for his own sake let out money for assisting his tenants, in improving lands already cultivated, and in clearing and cultivating waste lands; he will not dare to injure the rents, nor encroach in one year on the profits of the next; because, the future loss which must ensue from such a proceeding will be his own; the tenants will grow familiarized to his authority; and a mutual attachment is more likely to proceed, from a long intercourse between them, especially when their interests are mutually blended, than from a new and transitory connection which is ready to expire before it can grow into acquaintance.

Such are the arguments which have occurred to us in support of the two points on which we have already

already determined, namely, to dispose of the lands to farm, and on long leases.

We are happy to reflect the commands of our honourable masters, in many of their late general letters, but especially strongly inculcate the same opinion."

The committee of secrecy having in their last report laid before the house certain regulations concerning the revenues, transmitted by the last ships to the court of directors, from the president and council at Fort-William, which contained also some matters relative to the administration of justice in Bengal; and considering it as one of the most important objects of their appointment, to report to the house an account of the state of judicature in that country, as the necessary groundwork for establishing proper regulations for the future administration of justice; they have endeavoured to collect the best information on that subject; the substance of which they now submit to the consideration of the house.

In this enquiry, the committee have not only perused all the papers in the books and correspondence of the company, which, as the servants of the company informed them, contain any thing material on this subject, but have also called before them, and examined, several gentlemen, in whose knowledge and experience they thought they might best confide, in respect of the time of their residence, and their situations in Bengal.

In laying before the house the result of this enquiry, the committee purpose to arrange it under the following heads, into which the subject seems naturally to divide itself: first, The state of the country

country judicatures throughout the province of Bengal, as they subsisted under the ancient constitution of the country : or, as they have been effected or altered by the influence of the company, or its servants. Secondly, The state of judicature existing in the settlement of Calcutta, and in the factories and districts depending upon it, partly derived from the constitution of the country, and partly established by his majesty's charters of justice. Thirdly, To state to the house such provisions as have been made by law, for the trial and punishment, in England, of offences committed by the company's servants in Bengal, to specify in what instances those provisions have been attempted to be carried into execution, with the result of the proceedings ; and to submit to the consideration of the house some circumstances, which appear to the committee greatly to obstruct the efficacy of any remedy in England, as the law on that subject is constituted.

These several heads appear to the committee to compromise every point material for the consideration of the house upon this subject.

Under the first of these heads, it seems to be a proper and necessary introduction to explain, so far as the committee have been able to learn, the ancient state of judicature in that country, during the vigour of the mogul government ; and to trace the gradual changes in the state of judicature, from the various troubles and revolutions that have lately occurred in that country : this will naturally lead the consideration of the house to its most important object, the alterations which have been introduced in that system, by the influence or authority

authority of the company, or its servants; and, consequently, the present situation of judicature and justice in Bengal.

In examining into the ancient constitutions of judicature in Bengal, during the vigour of the Mogul government, the committee chiefly enquired into the following points; the names and distinctions of the several courts; the judges in each; the laws and rules by which they decided; under what controul of appeal they lay; under what influence by the power of the government; and, lastly, the purity or corruption that prevailed, as far as the committee have been able to discover, in the administration of justice in these courts.

The committee find, from the general account given by the gentlemen examined before them, and also, from that contained in the books and correspondence of the company, that, according to the ancient constitution of Bengal, the administration of justice, both in the capital, and in the several districts, was distributed into several branches of judicature, from the exercise of criminal, civil, religious, and revenue jurisdiction.

The criminal court in every district was generally known by the name of the Phouzday; the zemindar, or rajah of the district, was the judge of this court: his jurisdiction extended to all criminal cases; but it appears to the committee, that in such as were of a capital nature, the sentence was not to be executed until a report of the case was made to the governor at Murshadabad, and their orders received upon it. The proceedings of this court were summary. The most frequent

quent mode of punishment, particularly where the accused was a man of wealth, was by fine; and every fine, imposed by authority of the court, was a perquisite of the zemindar, himself, by virtue of his tenure of the lands; the natural effects of this circumstance, upon the fair administration of justice, appear to the committee to have been severely felt, under the ancient constitution of Bengal.

The court of civil jurisdiction in every district, was generally known by the name of the adawlat; the zemindar or raja of the province was the judge also in this court; its judicature extended to all causes between party and party: the judge, as a perquisite of his office, was entitled to a chout, or share, of whatever was received in his court, which, as the committee have been informed, amounted to a fourth or fifth of the whole value.

It appears to the committee, that this extraordinary circumstance in the constitution of that judicature, greatly affected the confidence of the people in its justice; that parties were reluctant to resort to that tribunal; and that hence it has long been a prevailing practice in Bengal, to refer matters of controversy to arbitrators chosen by the parties.

It appears to the committee, that these judicatures were not guided by any regular system of law; that the khoran as the only code, and its commentators the only authorities allowed in that country; that where these afforded no rule of decision, the custom and usage of the country, if applicable to the case, were the proper guide; but

but that the rules derived from these sources were, in general very loose and uncertain ; and that the necessary consequence of so imperfect a system of law, rendered the exercise of criminal and civil judicature in Bengal, in a great measure discretionary.

The witnesses examined by the committee did not entirely agree, with respect to the right of appeal from the provincial courts of Phouzdary and Adawlat, to the respective courts of the same nature at the capital ; but most of the gentlemen informed the committee, that such appeal certainly lay ; they all concurred in informing the committee, that the power of government often interfered in the proceedings of the courts of justice ; that the general course of application for redress against any proceeding of the court of justice, was to the power of government, especially when the party found himself in a situation to expect its favour and protection ; and that the government, upon such occasions, not only exercised a discretionary power over the proceedings of the courts, but frequently gave such remedy, or inflicted such punishment, as they thought proper, without the interposition of any judicature.

It appears to the committee, that the want of subordinate jurisdiction in different parts of the zemindary districts, was attended with much hardships to the lower class of people ; that such of them only as lived in the neighbourhood of the seat of judicature could have access to these tribunals, and that even to these, the expences attending suits in the courts, were almost an entire exclusion of the possibility of obtaining justice by
law.

law. That, on the other hand, the principal persons in the several districts could seldom be brought under the authority of the courts, and when they submitted to them, were able to defeat their justice by means of their influence with government.

The committee found it the general sense of all the accounts they have received respecting these courts, That the administration of justice, during the vigour of the ancient constitution, was liable to great abuse and oppression; that the judges generally lay under the influence of interest, and often under that of corruption; and that the interposition of government, from motives of favour or displeasure, was another frequent cause of the perversion of justice.

One material circumstance, that must have greatly tended to encourage the abuse of this judicature in these courts, appear to the committee to have been the want of any judicial register of their proceedings; so that there could not exist any authentic document of their proceedings, to be the subject of view to any superior authority.

Cases respecting religion, appear to have been distinguished from the ordinary course of judicature; questions of this nature were not trusted to the judgment or discretion of the temporal judges; in every such case, the judge before whom the question depended, was obliged to call in the assistance of the cazee of the district, and even to submit to his authority in the decision of the cause. And the committee find, that the gentoo subjects enjoyed a similar privilege, with respect to all cases of religious nature, in which persons of that
persuasion

persuasion were parties ; for that, in every such case, it was necessary that the temporal judge should be assisted by a bramin of the cast, particularly where the cause was of such a nature as might be attended with the consequence of forfeiture of cast.

The committee find, that all the causes respecting the revenue, or the rents of the land, were under the cognizance of a peculiar court in every district : it appears, that formerly the zemindar or rajah held the authority of the judicature also : but Mr. Sykes informed the committee, that, for some years before the acquisition of the dewannee, this jurisdiction of the zemindar had gone into disuse, and had since been exercised by the naib Duan, appointed in every district by the principal Duan at Murshadabad, that this officer decided in all causes of revenues ; but that appeal lay from his decisions to the principal Duan.

With respect to the courts established at the capital, the committee apprehend, that they could not present to the house, any account so satisfactory as that which is contained in a letter lately received by the court of directors from the governor and council of Fort-William, dated the 3d of November, 1772 ; and the committee have inserted an extract thereof, so far as it relates to the subject of the administration of justice, together with the plan therein proposed for that purpose, being of opinion that it contains materials of great importance, and deserving the serious consideration of the house. Upon the present subject of the courts established by an ancient constitution at the capital of this province, the committee

think it proper to abstract very shortly, the principal substance of the account given at large of these courts, in the letter of the committee of circuit to the council of Fort-William, transmitted in the above-mentioned letter to the court of directors.

According to that letter, the courts are as follows : The nazim, as supreme magistrate, presides personally in the trials of capital offenders, and holds a court every Sunday, called the Roy Adawlat ; crimes not capital are tried before the phouf-dar, but reported to the nazim for his judgment and sentence.

The duan is the proper judge of all causes relating to real estates or property in lands, but seldom exercises this authority in person : the darogo adawlat, dewannee, or deputy of the duan, exercises this jurisdiction.

The darogo adawlat al Aalea is the judge of all cases of property, except those which respect land and inheritance ; and also takes cognizance of quarrels, frays, and abusive names.

The cafee is the judge in all claims of inheritance and succession, assisted by the mustee, who is the expounder of the law ; and also by the mohtesib, a magistrate whose immediate duty is to superintend the weights and measures, and other matters of police. The manner of proceeding in the cafee's court is, that after hearing the cause, the mustee writes the fettiva, or law applicable to it, and the cafee pronounces judgment accordingly ; unless he, or the mohtesib, disapproves of the fettiva ; in which case, the cause is referred to the nazim, who summons the

Illahs,

Illafs, or general affembly, confifting of the ca-
zee, &c. and all the learned in the law, to meet
and decide upon it, whole decifion is final.

Such appears to the committee to have been the
fystem of judicature, eftablifhed by the ancient
conftitution of Bengal; but the committee cannot
conclude this part of the fubject without obferv-
ing, That, fo far as they are able to judge from
all the information laid before them, the fubjects
of the Mogul empire in that province, derived
little protection or fecurity from thefe courts;
and that, in general, though forms of judicature
were eftablifhed and preferved, the defpotic prin-
ciples of the government rendered them the in-
ftruments of power rather than of juftice, not only
unavailing to protect the people, but often the
means of the moft grievous oppreffions, under the
cloak of judicial character.

The committee having enquired in what man-
ner the Englifh company, or its fervants, ufed to
proceed, during the ancient government, to compel
payment of their debts from any of the natives
not refiding under the Britifh flag, they were in-
formed by feveral of the witneffes, that, where
the debtor was a perfon dependent on, or con-
nected with the company in the courfe of com-
merce, and refiding (as thofe perfons generally
did) in the neighbourhood of any of the compa-
ny's fettlements, the general practice was to lay
hold of his perfon by their own authority, with-
out applying to any court or officer of the govern-
ment; that they fometimes ventured to exercife
the fame right, even where the debtor did not fall
under that defcription; but that this was an abufe,
though

though generally over-looked by the government; that, in the former case, the government tacitly allowed and countenanced the practice of seizing and detaining the debtor, it being much the disposition of the government to give all possible encouragement to the Europeans, from whose commerce their country derived such considerable advantages. In cases, where it was not thought prudent to proceed in this manner, the only remedy was by application to government; but the committee were informed there was seldom occasion to make use of either of these ways to compel payment of any debts to the company, or its servants; for that the persons dealing with them reaped so much benefit from that connection, that there seldom arose any dispute among them.

The committee were further informed, that the French and Dutch exercised the same privilege of seizing their debtors, and had even continued the practice after the company's acquisition of the demanée.

The committee find, by the secret consultations lately received by the Lapwing, that this practice having been lately prohibited by the president and council, the French, in very strong terms, remonstrated against this order, as a violation of a right which they had always held and exercised under the country government; but that the president and council denied their pretension, and insisted that the French should have recourse to the courts of justice to compel payment of their debts; but the committee do not find that the dispute has been brought to a conclusion.

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The committee having laid before the house this succinct view of the ancient state of judicature in Bengal, now proceed to state the result of their enquiry, with respect to the alterations it has undergone since the decline of the Mogul government, and the introduction of the company's influence in Bengal.

Mr. Syke's (who from the time of his residence and different situations in Bengal, had the best opportunities of information on this subject) informed the committee, that, in his opinion, during the first period of Meer Jaffier's government, although he had been raised to the nabobship by the power and influence of the English, the administration of justice continued in its former course, without any interruption or alteration from that power which had made the revolution ; that, during the government of Cossim Ally Cawn, the English influence began to operate, not only in consequence of the revolution itself, accomplished by their power, but because from that time many of the English, with or without the consent of the presidency, dispersed themselves over the country, and engaged in its interior commerce, which often led them to interfere with the judicature and government of the country ; (in which his evidence is much confirmed by several letters, printed from the country correspondence, in the appendix to the first report to the committee appointed to enquire into the nature, state, and condition of the East India company, and of the British affairs in the East Indies ; that besides Cossim's attention was so much turned to the increase of his revenue,

revenue, that he gave very little regard to the administration of justice, or to the maintenance of that part of his authority against the encroachments of the English subjects residing in his territories, further than was necessary for securing the collection of his revenues.

The third revolution made by the English, in restoring Meer Jaffier, necessarily added to their power and influence in the whole administration of government in Bengal, and of course rendered the administration of justice in the judicatures of the country very liable to be swayed or influenced by any servant of the company, whose situation gave him an opportunity, and whose interest afforded him incitement, to interfere into any of their judicial proceedings.

Mr. Keir informed the committee, that since the establishment of the English power in Bengal on its present footing, the banyans of English gentlemen, wherever they reside, entirely govern the courts of judicature, and that they even frequently sit as judges in these courts.

Mr. Jekyl, upon the same subject, said, That whilst he was at Patna, in 1771, the members of the company's council sat alternately in the revenue court at that place, together with the rajah.

But though these successive revolutions, entirely accomplished by the English power in Bengal, necessarily rendered their influence very operative in the affairs of the government; and although it appears to the committee, from the perusal of several letters, printed in the appendix to the

the before-mentioned report of the committee appointed to enquire into the native state and condition of the East-India company, and of the British affairs in the Indies, that the gomastahs of the servants of the company frequently assumed to themselves the exercise of judicature; yet it does not appear, that any alteration in the legal constitution of the judicatures of the country was made before the acquisition of the dewannee.

But the committee find, that since the acquisition of the dewannee, some alterations have been made, and a variety of regulations proposed, respecting the administration of justice; but as to the effect, the committee are not able to give the house any satisfactory information.

Mr. Sykes, who was appointed resident at the durbar, in October, 1765, informed the committee, that, immediately upon entering into that office, he applied to the government for the establishment of some new courts of judicature, but without proposing any alterations in those already established; that having observed, that the poor inhabitants were, in general, unable to obtain justice in the ancient courts, he recommended to the ministers at Murshadabad, to establish there, and in each of the provinces, a court for the decision of all causes, not exceeding the value of five hundred rupees; that this was accordingly carried into execution, the court of Murshadabad, consisting of twelve persons of the best character, appointed by the administration, with adequate salaries; and the provincial courts constituted in the same manner, but consisting only of six judges; that all these judges are bound by the most solemn

solemn oaths to administer justice uprightly, and not to receive, directly or indirectly, any emoluments whatsoever, besides their salary, in the exercise of their judicial function; that they sat by rotation, three at a time, and appeal lay from these courts in the provinces, to that at Murshadabad.

Mr. Becher informed the committee, that he found such a court existing at the time of his appointment to be resident at the durbar, in January, 1769; but the committee cannot help observing, that no notice is taken, in the dispatches lately received from the president and council at Fort-William, of any court now existing at Murshadabad, which was established since the acquisition of the dewannee.

Mr. Sykes added, that, during the time of his continuing resident at the durbar, no alteration was made respecting the courts of judicature; for that it had been determined and directed by the company, that whilst they made necessary reformation, they should adhere as much as possible to the forms of the established government.

Mr. Becher, who succeeded Mr. Sykes, in January, 1769, as resident at the durbar, informed the committee, that he allotted one day in every week to inspect the proceedings of the supreme courts at Murshadabad: he added, that, as resident at the durbar, he possessed a very extensive authority, but that he could safely aver he had always used it to promote justice, and protect the natives from injury.

Mr. Verelst, who resided some years as the principal servant of the company, in the provinces of
Chittagong

Chittagong and Burdwan, (ceded by Cossim Ally Cawn) before he became president of Bengal ; in his evidence upon this subject, observed to the committee, that, before the acquisition of the dewannee, it had been found by experience, that it was very possible to maintain the forms of the ancient country judicatures, and at the same time, correct many abuses which had crept into the administration of justice ; for that the company had followed this plan, and seen its efficacy in those provinces which had been ceded to them in the year 1760, by Cossim Ally Cawn ; and that therefore the select committee at Calcutta had resolved to pursue the same course, with respect to all the other provinces, upon the acquisition of the dewannee.

Such is the account that the above-mentioned servants of the company have given the committee, of the various steps they have taken in their respective departments ; but it does not appear to the committee what effects may have thence resulted towards the better administration of justice.

The committee will now state the substance of some of the most material letters that passed between the court of directors, the presidency at Fort-William, the council of revenue at Murshadabad, the naib duan and the supervisors of the several districts, on the subject of the proposed regulations in the administration of justice, together with some of the reports made by these gentlemen to the resident at the durbar, respecting particular cases occurring in their respective districts, following the order of the dates.

VOL. IV.

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In a general letter to the select committee at Bengal, March 16, 1768, the court of directors recommend to them, to endeavour to introduce laws of inheritance, and as near as possible to the spirit of the laws of this country; particularly, to endeavour to abolish the power of seizing the effects of those who die without children; and to introduce the right of bequeathing by will; referring to their judgment how far they could be done consistent with the claims of the rajahs and landholders, and the established customs of the country.

The committee find, that in the following year super-intending commissioners were appointed to the several districts of the province, not only to watch over the actual administration of justice in the courts; but also, to enquire into all the defects and abuses in their constitution or practice, and to report their observations thereon.

The instructions of the president and council, communicated by the resident at the durbar to the supervisors of the several districts, after observing the degree of corruption to which the courts of judicature were degenerated, and particularly the mischievous consequences of allowing arbitrary fines, and the compromise of offences, direct the supervisors to check every such composition, and in matters of property to recommend arbitration as much as possible; and to inculcate into the minds of the people, that their only object is to provide for their relief and happiness: that in capital cases the sentence should be referred to the president at the durbar, and by him to the minister, to approve or mitigate it, according to the nature of the case; that

that they should establish registers of all causes and determinations, to be lodged in the principal cutcherry of the province, and that an authenticated copy be transmitted to Murthadabad; that they endeavour to reform all the corruptions which have encroached on the primitive rights of the Mahomedans and Hindoos, particularly in respect to the arbitrary impositions of fines; that all persons claiming any judicial or religious authority should be summoned to produce their funnuds, and that registers of the funnuds should be kept, in order to prevent any from exercising any judicial, because a lucrative function, who is not appointed by government, if a Mahometan, or elected by his cast, if a Hindoo; that the forfeiture of cast shall never be inflicted in any case but by sentence by the bramin, in a regular process, and upon clear proof of the offence; but that, as the police of the Mahometan government had provided, that where a Hindoo has legally forfeited his cast, he cannot be restored to it without the sanction of the government; that this principle should be kept up as a direct assertion of the subordination of the Hindoos; who are a very considerable majority of the subjects.

The court of directors also sent out orders to these commissioners, dated the 15th of September, 1769, directing, That they should make strict and speedy enquiry into the proceedings of the courts of justice throughout their settlements, and that if any extraordinary powers have interfered to interrupt the course and administration of justice, they should, without delay, correct all such abuses; and in particular directing, that they should procure the entire

the abolition of the ancient custom of withholding, under the name of Mont, a large share of all the property recovered in the courts; and that if they should find the established courts so imperfectly constituted, as not to be adequate to the right administration of justice, they should apply to the government, and obtain firmans for erecting such new judicatures as should appear most adequate for that purpose.

The committee find, that these commissioners accordingly assumed and exercised the right of superintending and reviewing the proceedings of the courts of justice, in their several districts; that where any case of difficulty, or peculiar importance occurred, they reported a state of the proceedings to the resident at Murshadabad, in order that he might lay it before the government, and return such orders as the nabob, or his ministers with his approbation, should direct. This practice accordingly has prevailed throughout Bengal, and appears to the committee to be the strongest evidence of the absolute sway and controul, to which the whole administration of government, and particularly the courts of justice, have submitted since the company's accession to the dewannee.

In a letter from the select committee at Fort-William, dated the 30th of September, 1769, in answer to a letter from the directors, dated the 11th of November, 1768, desiring to be informed, whether there lay any appeal from the two courts at Decca; the committee say, That these courts are held on the same footing as others in the different parts of the country, and that appeals are frequently made from them to the nabob, and to
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the resident at the durbar, who makes proper enquiry into, and decide ultimately, the causes so brought before them.

April 1772, letter from the council of revenue at Murshadabad to the president and council.

This letter incloses a memorial from the naib duan, on the subject of arbitration, accurately distinguishing such causes as are proper for that mode of decision, and such as must be decided by the courts of judicature according to the law : of the latter kind he states all disputes of inheritance, property, purchases, assignments, and the like ; that these cases depending upon the laws of the Scriptures, according to the orders of the Almighty and his Prophet, cannot be proper subjects of arbitration ; for the right must be decided according to the precepts of the law, and common arbitrators cannot be proper judges thereof ; that cases of misdemeanors, or offence by one subject to another, cannot be referred to arbitration, but must be judged and punished by proper officers of justice, and much more especially, crimes of a higher magnitude must undergo the judgment of the law itself ; that, on the other hand, in cases of debt, account, or other commercial concerns, arbitration is the best mode of decision ; that he had accordingly issued orders to the officers of the courts of justice in the several districts, that in all matters of debt, trade, petty quarrels, and ordinary occurrences, where the parties are willing to refer, they should appoint arbitrators, and that registered be duly kept in the court of adawlat, of all causes decided in that way.

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The letter of the council of revenue represents the necessity of restricting the orders relative to arbitrations to such cases specified for that purpose in the naib duan's memorial ; for that it would be productive of the greatest dissatisfaction in the country, if that mode of decision was to be substituted in the place of judicial determinations, in such cases as fall under the first principles of the Mahometan laws ; that such a measure would be regarded by all the Mahometans as an infringement to their religion and customs, would excite great discontent and apprehensions, and perhaps be liable to an obstinate and inflexible opposition.

In the answer from the president and council to the council of revenue, they entirely assent to the distinction proposed in the above letter ; declaring, that all cases of inheritance, marriage, or other matters for which the Mahometan law has made provision, and likewise matters respecting inheritance, and the particular laws and usage of the cast of the Gentoos, should be decided by the established magistrates, assisted by the proper persons of the respective religion, according to the laws and usages of each.

The council of revenue, in a letter to the president and council, May 1772, inclosed a remonstrance of the naib duan, respecting that part of the instructions in the last letter of the president and council, which directed, that in cases of the inheritance of the Gentoos, and magistrates should be assisted by the bramins of the cast to which the parties belong ; in that memorial the naib duan strongly remonstrates against allowing a bramini to be called into the decision of any matter of inheritance,

tance, or other dispute of Gentoos. That since the establishment of the Mahometan dominion in Hindostan, the bramins had never been admitted to any such jurisdiction: that to order a magistrate of the faith to decide in conjunction with a bramin would be repugnant to the rules of the faith, and an innovation peculiarly improper in a country under the dominion of a mussulman emperor: that where the matter in dispute can be decided by a reference to bramins, no interruption had ever been given to that mode of decision; but, that when they think fit to resort to the established judicatures of the country, they must submit to a decision according to the rules and principles of that law, by which alone these courts are authorised to judge: that there would be the greatest absurdity in such an association of judicature, because the bramin would determine according to the precepts and usages of his cast, and the magistrates must decide according to those of the Mahometan law: that in many instances the rules of the Gentoo and Mussulman laws, even with respect to the inheritance and succession, differ materially from each other.

The committee also find, that in several letters from the different chiefs to the president and council, on the subject of arbitration, they state considerable difficulties occurring in any regular establishment of that mode of decision, as well from the reluctance of parties to refer, and of persons chosen arbitrators to undertake the office, as from the subsequent delays that have been found in the execution of it; and therefore concluding, that the introduction of that plan of decision, in cases proper

proper for it, must be the gradual work of time, assisted by the encouragement of the company's servants, and could not be brought into practice by any establishment of the authority.

The committee find, by the last dispatches from Bengal, that a committee of circuit was established last year, consisting of the president and four other gentlemen of the council, for the purpose of making an exact scrutiny into the state of the revenues and judicatures of the several districts of the province ; that in consequence of this appointment the committee of circuit have proposed a plan for the administration of justice. Some of the most material propositions are,

That in each district two courts of justice should be established, one by the name of Masulul Dewannee Adawlat, or provincial court of Dewannee, for civil causes ; the other for all crimes and misdemeanors by the name of Phouzdary Adawlat, or the court of Phouzdarree ; the only civil causes excepted from the jurisdiction of the Dewannee Adawlat, to be the right of succession to zemindarries and talucdarrees, which are to be left to the decision of the president and council.

That the dewannee courts the collector of each district shall preside on the part of the company, in their quality of king's dewan, attended by the provincial dewan, appointed by the president and council, and other officers of the cutcherry ; that in the phouzdary court the cazee and musitu of the district, and two maulavies, shall sit to expound the law, and determine upon the charge ; but that the collector shall attend to the proceedings of this court,

court, to see that they are properly conducted, and the decision fair and impartial, according to the evidence ; and that no cause shall be heard and determined but in the open court regularly assembled.

That in like manner, two superior courts shall be established at the chief seat of the government, under the denominations of the dewannee, fudder adawlat, and the nizamat fudder adawlat ; that the former shall receive appeals from the provincial dewannee, of any causes not exceeding five hundred rupees, the president with two members of the council presiding therein, attended by the duan of the khalsa and other officers of the cutcherry ; that the latter shall have cognizance to revise all the proceedings of the phouzdary courts ; that a chief officer of justice, appointed by the nazim, shall preside in this court, by the title of darogo adawlat, assisted by the chief cazee, the chief muftee, and three capable maulavies, but under the superintendence and controul of the company's chief council.

That there be also two courts of adawlat established at the seat of government, on the same plan as those of the districts ; in the dewannee court a member of the council to preside, and in the phouzdary another member of the council to superintend ; these duties being performed by the members in rotation.

That causes not exceeding ten rupees, be decided finally by the head farmer of the purgunnah to which the parties belong.

That complete records of all causes shall be kept in the dewannee court, and copies of them transmitted, twice a month, to the supreme civil

court, through the channel of, the president and council.

That there shall be a time fixed for the limitation of suits and complaints.

Upon this point it is observed, that, both by the Mahometan and Hindoo laws, and by the usage of the country, all claims which have laid dormant for twelve years, whether land or money are invalid.

That the custom of chout, or any commission or money recovered, as well as all arbitrary fines, be abolished.

That the practice of individuals exercising authority over their debtors, be entirely abolished.

That in all cases of account, debt, and the like, it shall be recommended to the parties to submit their causes to arbitrators, whose award shall be made a decree of the dewannee court.

That complete records shall be kept at the phouzday court, and transmitted twice every month, to the supreme criminal court, through the channel of the president and council; but that the proceedings in capital trials are to be transmitted as soon as closed; that this court shall have power to punish either by fine or imprisonment, or to inflict corporal, but not capital, punishment; that in capital cases the trial, with the opinion of the court, being transmitted to the supreme criminal court, and having obtained their confirmation, shall be ultimately referred to the nazim for his sentence.

The committee find, that these regulations were approved of by the president and council, at a
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consultation at Fort William, the twenty fifth of August, 1772.

The committee have now gone through all the materials they are able to lay before the house, with respect to the ancient constitution, and present state, of judicature in Bengal; they proceed now to the second head of this inquiry. The judicature existing at Calcutta; in treating of which, they will first lay before the house an account of the courts derived out of the constitution of the country; and secondly, of those established by his majesty's charters of justice,

Of the courts established at Calcutta, and its dependencies.

Until the charter of justice granted to the company in the thirteenth year of his late majesty, the only courts of justice that existed in Calcutta were derived out of the constitution of the country, and nearly similar to those that have been explained above.

Soon after the establishment of the settlement at Calcutta, near the end of the last century, the English company obtained from the then nabob, the zemindary rights of the districts round the settlement, by which they became the zemindar of that district, with all the rights incident to that office, amongst which, as stated above, is the criminal, civil, and religious jurisdiction of the district.

Mr. Gregory, after explaining to the committee the several country jurisdictions, added, that the company exercises these several jurisdictions within

within the district of Calcutta ; and that he understood, this was in consequence of their being the zemindar of the district.

The zemindary courts established in Calcutta, are, the fouzday, for the trial of crimes ; the court of cutcherry, for civil causes ; and the collectors court, for matters of revenue

The original and proper nature of those courts has been stated above : the committee will now state such circumstances as are peculiar to the zemindary courts at Calcutta.

The criminal courts tries all crimes committed by the natives, and, in this respect, has a concurrent jurisdiction with the court of oyer and terminer, established by the charter of justice, one judge only sits in that court, appointed by the governor and council.

Mr. Russell informed the committee, that formerly one of the council was appointed to this office, but that since the increase of other business in the council, this duty has been trusted to junior servants, one of the council being appointed monthly to superintend.

In capital cases, three members of the board sit as judges in this court, and before execution of the sentence, the proceedings must be laid before the governor and council.

The civil courts consist of several judges, also appointed by the governor and council, out of the junior servants, but seldom more than one actually sits ; this court has jurisdiction of all causes between natives, and also (as Mr. Whittal informed the committee) in causes between a native and an European, where the latter is plaintiff, but in this case,
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the natives may remove the cause into the mayor's court.

The rule of judgment in these courts is supposed to be the customs and usage of the country ; and where no custom or usage applies, it is the discretion of the judge. Formerly the chout (the fourth part of every thing revered) was an allowed perquisite in the civil court, but on a representation to the president and council, it was abolished.

Appeal lies from the civil court to the governor and council. The custom of sending causes to arbitrators prevails in this court, as in the other districts of Bengal ; and, as Mr. Whittal informed the committee, is often done without the consent of either party.

The committee find, that in April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy one, a dispute arose between Mr. Purling, a zemindar at Calcutta, and Mr. Rous, supervisor at Rajeshatry, with respect to the right of the zemindar at Calcutta demanding two persons, residing in the district of Rajeshatry to be sent prisoners to Calcutta, to answer to certain suits there exhibited against them ; the supervisor to allow this claim, insisting that the jurisdiction of the zemindary court of Calcutta did not extend over any of the dewannee lands ; and, therefore, desiring that the plaintiffs should be directed to exhibit their claim at the cutcherry of the district : in reply to this, the zemindar of Calcutta insisted, that it had been customary for that court to send for persons, in cases of this kind, from every district of the dewannee, and that it would be attended with the utmost inconvenience to every person residing at Calcutta, if the exercise
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of this jurisdiction should now be interrupted ; the consequence of which would be, the necessity of going, and carrying witnesses to distant parts of Bengal, in order to settle the disputes necessarily occurring between them and their gomastahs : that this jurisdiction had never been contested by the chief of Patna, Decca, and Chittagong.

These letters being laid before the court of revenue, they determined, that the jurisdiction of the zemindary court of Calcutta might extend over all persons, as agents, or gomastahs, in the service of an English merchant, or of any native residing at Calcutta ; and that as the persons in question appear to stand in that predicament, they should be sent to Calcutta, to answer the suit of their principals.

In the revenue court, the collector appointed by the governor and council sits as judge ; and appeal lies from his decisions to the governor and council ; there are inferior revenue judges in the purgunnahs, these are appointed by the collector at Calcutta, and appeal lays from their decision to this court.

These jurisdictions being in themselves very defective, and moreover very inadequate to the advanced state of this settlement ; and similar defects being found in other settlements of the company, application was made to the crown, in the thirteenth year of the late king, for a charter of justice.

A charter was accordingly granted, whereby criminal and civil courts of different kinds were established at Calcutta, and likewise at the settlements of Madraspalnam, and Bombay ; but this
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charter being found defective in some respects, application was again made to the crown, on the part of the company, for a new charter of justice for those settlements, to be granted on the surrender of the former charter.

A new charter was therefore granted to the company, dated the eighth of January, one thousand seven hundred and fifty three, the twenty-sixth year of his late majesty.

This charter, which recites its being granted by virtue of powers vested in the crown by several acts of parliament; grants, and ordains, that there should be for ever thereafter, within the factory of Fort William, in Bengal, one body politic and corporate, by the name of mayor and aldermen at Calcutta, in Bengal, to consist of a mayor and nine aldermen, the mayor and seven of the aldermen being natural-born subjects, but the other two allowed to be foreign protestants. And it is further granted, that the mayor and aldermen should for ever thereafter be, and thereby constituted, a court of record, by the name of the mayor's court at Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal; and that they, or any three of them (the mayor or senior alderman then residing there to be one) may, and are thereby authorized, to try, hear, and determine all civil suits, actions, or complaints, between party and party, arising within the town or factory of Calcutta, or any of the factories subordinate thereunto; except such suits as shall be between Indian natives, which shall be determined among themselves, unless both parties consent to the determination of the mayor's court; and this court is also authorized to try suits brought against
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the company, or by the company against any person.

This charter also constitutes the president and council to be a court of record, in order to receive, try, and determine appeal from the judgment or decrees of the mayor's court. The determination of this court to be final, if the value not exceed one thousand pagodas ; but if it exceeds that sum, the parties are allowed, within fourteen days after such decree or judgment is entered on record, to appeal to his majesty, his heirs or successors in the council.

It further gives authority to the president and council, or the major part of them, upon reasonable causes, to remove any of the said aldermen, so as there be a complaint in writing first exhibited against them, and reasonable time allowed for his defence, after being summoned for that purpose ; with power to any person, thinking himself aggrieved by such removal, to appeal to his majesty in council.

The said charter also establishes a court for the recovery of small debts within the said town or factory of Calcutta, and the factories and districts subordinate thereto, to be called the court of requests. This court to consist of some of the principal inhabitants, (not more than twenty-four, or fewer than eight) to be appointed by the president and council, and to determine all suits brought before them, not exceeding the value of five pagodas.

And the said charter further grants and ordains the governor and council to be justices of the peace, and have power to act as such, and to hold quarter-

ter-sessions of the peace, and also to be commissioners of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery, for trying and punishing all offences, (high treason only excepted) committed within the said town or factory, or it's subordinate factories ; to proceed by indictment, or such other way as is used in that part of Great Britain called England, as near as the circumstances of the place and inhabitants will allow.

The said charter further grants, that the said mayor's court shall have power to grant probates of wills and letters of administration.

The committee also examined some of the witnesses, with relation to some of the proceedings of these courts.

Mr. Whittall (who resided at Calcutta from 1764 to 1770, as a free merchant, and also as an attorney in the mayor's court, from which last he was dismissed by an order of the court ; which was afterward made a matter of complaint to the court of directors) informed the committee, that although this court cannot legally issue process beyond the bounds of Calcutta, or its subordinate factories, yet, that he had known their process issue and be executed in all parts of Bengal, under special order of the governor and council, granted or refused at their discretion ; and that in all these cases the process was sent to one of the company's servants ; that he understood the criminal jurisdiction of the sessions to have the same extent at the mayor's court, and that he had known natives sent from every part of the country to be tried in that court ; and apprehends an European might be brought in the same manner from any part of

the country; except from the factories belonging to other European nations.

He said, he had known frequent instances of the mayor's court refusing to admit an appeal against it's proceedings, on pretence of their being interlocutory only, and not final: he mentioned three cases of his own knowledge, (one in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, between the trustees of Mrs. Philadelphia Gallopine, and the executors of Peter Gallopine; and two causes of John Holm, Esq; in 1769) in which the mayor's court refused to admit an appeal, and the superior court refused to take cognizance of it on that pretence, though in fact, as he informs the committee, the orders made were a determination of the cause.

He said, he had known attornies reprimanded in the mayor's court, for appealing against its proceedings; that the attornies are limited to four, that the judges are not persons educated to the law, but any of the junior servants.

That he has known the mayor's court refuse to take cognizance of causes arising within their jurisdiction, insisting that they had a right to refuse them. That in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, he had heard it frequently declared by some of the judges on the bench, that the mayor's court had nothing to do with the laws of England, and that the mayor would not sit there to hear the laws of England named, or to that purpose or effect. That he had often known an attorney of the mayor's court, threatened by the governor, and by several of the aldermen, for attempting to bring an action against one of the company's servants; and that any servant of the company, against whom an
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action is intended, often intimidates the attorney by threat of applying to the governor.

Mr. Ruffel, who also resided several years in Bengal, observed to the committee, that though the mayor's court cannot exercise jurisdiction over natives, unless by consent, the jurisdiction of oyer and terminer extends to natives as well as Europeans.

Mr. Becher, considered this jurisdiction with respect to natives, as extended to such only as lived under the British flag ; and informed the committee, that where sentence was pronounced against natives, the practice was to apply for the consent of the governor before it was executed.

The committee having examined Mr. Nuthall, solicitor of the company, whether there had been any instances, during his time, of complaints to the court of directors against the mayor's court, or any member of it, for any criminal misconduct in their judicial function : he informed the committee, that he knew but two instances in his time, of any such complaints laid in form before the court of directors ; the one by Mr. Whittal, an attorney, the other by Mr. Jephson ; that the latter not only complained of the conduct of the mayor's court, but of Mr. Cornelius Goodwin, the mayor, acting in his judicial capacity as judge of that court.

The committee have enquired into the nature of those complaints, and find, from the papers relative from them, laid before the committee by the company's servants, that the complaint brought by Mr. Alexander Jephson (whose petition to the court of directors is dated London the second of March,

March, 1771,) contains a charge against the mayor's court, for an illegal and oppressive abuse of its process, to detain the petitioner and his wife in Bengal, after they had obtained leave for their return to England; and particularly charging, that Mr. Cornelius Goodwin, the mayor, in the course of the proceedings, declared, "That they had nothing to do with the laws of England there; that the laws of England were never made for them, and that he would not hear them named while he sat on that bench. It appears, that Mr. Jephson would have appealed against the proceedings of the mayor's court, to the president and council, but that this appeal was denied, on account of the proceedings being interlocutory: and the committee find, that in consequence of this complaint, the court of directors (after having taken the opinion of several eminent council) in their general letter to Bengal, dated the third of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy one, expressed in the strongest terms the disapprobation of, and displeasure at, the proceedings against Mr. Jephson, also particularly reproving the president and council for refusing his appeal, as well as for the erroneous pretence assigned for that refusal, enjoining them to receive the appeal, and enquire strictly into all the circumstances of his complaint, and to cause full and ample justice to be done thereon.

The committee find, that at a consultation held at Fort William, the third of January, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two, the president and council enquired into the charge made against Mr. Goodwin, by Mr. Jephson, to the court of directors; that they examined Messrs. Lovet, Killican,

Killican, and Cater, three of the aldermen of the court, and who had been present at the proceedings in which those words were alledged to have been spoken ; also Mr. Morris, an attorney of the mayor's court, who had been concerned in some of the proceedings against Mr. Jephson ; that Mr. Cater said, that he had heard Mr. Goodwin on the bench make use of such words, or words to that effect, but could not charge his memory with the time ; that the other witnesses severally denied, that they had at any time heard Mr. Goodwin use such words, but that they heard him declare, that the mayor's court was not a court of law, but of equity ; that Messrs Read and Jekyl, who had been also upon the bench as aldermen during part of the proceedings, did by letters (on account of their absence at Calcutta) to the president and council give their testimony in like manner, in exculpation of Mr. Goodwin ; and that upon this evidence the board resolved, that they found no reason to consider Mr. Goodwin culpable ; and directed their secretary to signify this resolution to him.

The committee find, that the complaint, at the instance of Mr. Whittal, was laid before the court of directors on the first of March, in the same year, one thousand seven hundred and seventy one ; that his petition complained of having been dismissed from his office as attorney of that court, by an arbitrary and illegal proceeding of the court, without any regular complaint, without any sufficient allegation, without giving evidence upon oath, and without having any sufficient time to make his defence ; and also, that the order of dismissal, besides finding him guilty of misconduct in a particular case

cause depending before the court, contained a general charge of his having frequently merited the severe reprehension of the court, but without specifying any particular facts.

The committee find, that the court of directors (having taken the opinion of their council also upon this case) in their general letter to Bengal, the third of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy one, expressed their disapprobation of the general charge contained in the order against Mr. Whittall, without any allegation of facts to support it, as highly improper and unbecoming a court of justice; and that they recommend it to the governor and council to admit Mr. Whittall's appeal, and to act therein as justice should require.

The committee do not find any account by the last dispatches, of any other proceedings on these appeals, but that the president and council had submitted to receive them, in obedience to the orders of the court of directors.

The committee having concluded their state of the Calcutta judicatures, beg leave to submit to the consideration of the house some very singular circumstances in the constitution of the civil and criminal courts, which seem materially to effect their independence and their efficacy.

That although the mayor's court is intended not only to try causes between party and party, and the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery to punish the crimes of private individuals, but the former also to try causes in which the company itself is a party, and the latter to punish the offences of any of its principal servants, yet the judges of those courts are removeable from those offices,
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by virtue of which they exercise their judicial function, at the pleasure of the president and council ; and that such sentence cannot be reviewed but by the tedious mode of an appeal to his majesty in council.

The committee submit, whether courts thus constituted, be considered as free and independent judicatures, in any case where the company is a party, or where any member of the council is prosecuted on a criminal charge.

That although these courts, at least with respect to Europeans, are bound to judge according to the laws of England, yet the judges of these courts are not required to be, and in fact, have never been, persons educated in the knowledge of those laws by which they must decide ; but that any junior servants of the company are selected for these important trusts, affecting the property, the liberty, and the lives, of his majesty's subjects in Bengal.

It appears to the committee, that the judges of these courts are justly sensible of their own deficiency of knowledge in the laws of England ; and that therefore they, as well as the president and council, have sufficiently applied to the court of directors, to lay particular points, respecting their jurisdiction, before council, and to transmit the opinions of such council, to be the guide of their conduct. Some instances of this kind have been laid before the committee, upon doubts respecting their ecclesiastical and also their criminal jurisdiction ; particularly whether the charters allowed them to take cognizance of murders, robberies,
and

and other crimes, committed by Europeans, not immediately under the company's flag.

Mr. Russell informed the committee, that he believed there are one or two persons now in confinement, upon the charge of offences committed beyond the limits described in the charter of justice, whose trial is prevented, from doubts arising with respect to the powers conveyed by the charters.

That whatever doubts have been entertained in Bengal on this subject, it is clear, by the very terms of the charter of justice, that the jurisdiction of the court of oyer and terminer, and gaol-delivery, is restrained to offences committed within the town or district of Calcutta, and its subordinate factories: the consequence of this, in the present situation of Bengal, is, that there are many of his majesty's subjects, residing in Bengal, neither under the protection, nor the controul of the laws of England, nor amenable to the criminal judicatures of the country.

Of the Provisions for Prosecutions in England.

The committee now proceed, in pursuance of their plan, to state to the house such provisions as have been made by law for the trial and punishment in England of offences committed by the company's servants in Bengal; to specify in what instances these provisions have been attempted to be carried into execution, with the result of the proceedings; and to submit to the consideration of the house some circumstances, which appear to the committee greatly to obstruct the

the efficacy of any remedy in England, as the law on that subject is now constituted.

The committee find, that by an act passed in the twenty-seventh of George the Second, intituled “ An Act for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and for the punishment of offences committed in the East Indies, or at the island of Saint-Helena, it is provided, That if any of the company’s presidents or council at any of their principal settlements, or their governor or council at the island of Saint Helena, shall, after the 25th of March, 1754, be guilty of oppressing any of his majesty’s subjects within their respective jurisdictions or commands, or of any other crime or offence contrary to the laws of that part of Great Britain, called England, or enforce within their respective jurisdictions or commands, such oppressions, crimes, or offences, may be enquired of, heard, and determined, in his majesty’s court of King’s-Bench, within the part of Great Britain, called England, or before such commissioners, and in such county of that part of Great Britain, called England, as shall be assigned by his majesty’s commission, and by good and lawful men of the same county; and that such punishments shall be inflicted on such offenders as are usually afflicted for offences of the like nature, committed in England.”

And the committee find, that by an act passed in the tenth year of his present majesty, intituled “ An Act for the better regulating persons employed in the service of the East-India company,

and for other persons therein mentioned, it is annexed, That if any person employed in the service of the company, in any civil or military station or office, or claiming any power, authority, or jurisdiction, from the said company, shall, after the passing of this act, be guilty of oppressing any of his majesty's subjects, or in the exercise of such employments, or authority, shall be guilty of any other crime or offence, such oppressions, crimes, and offences, shall, and may be, enquired of, heard, and determined, in his majesty's court of King's-Bench, in England; and that such punishments shall be inflicted on such offenders, as are usually inflicted for offences of the like nature, committed in England; and that all offences against this act may be alledged to be committed, and may be laid, enquired of, and tried, in the county of Middlesex."

The committee examined Mr. Nuthall (who has been fifteen years solicitor to the company) whether, during this time, there were any, and what instances of prosecutions ordered by the general court, or court of directors, against any of their servants, for misconduct in India; and, particularly, whether there were any, and what, instances of criminal prosecutions founded on the above-mentioned clauses. He informed the committee, that he knew no instance of any criminal prosecution brought or ordered upon either of the above-mentioned clauses, and that he had known only two instances of any prosecution ordered against any of the company's servants, on account of misconduct in India, by the general court, or court of directors. That one of those was a bill filed in Trinity term, 1766, by order of the court
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of directors, upon the opinion of the attorney-general and company's council, against Messrs. Johnston, Leycester, Burdell, Senior, and Grey, for an account and payment to the company of divers large sums of money, jewels, and other valuable things, obtained from the nabob and his ministers, under the denomination of presents, in breach of their covenants with the company; that after the defendant, Johnston, had obtained several orders for time to answer, and before any of the defendants had put in their answers, the general court, on the 6th of May, 1767, resolved, "That the various prosecutions commenced by order of the court of directors, in the name of the East-India company, against their former servants in Bengal; and also all attachments ordered against the effects of such servants, on account of presents received before signing the covenants on the 9th of May, 1765, be discharged.

That the other case was an information in the exchequer, at the suit of the attorney-general, on relation of the company, against Mr. Bolts (who had been a servant of the company at Bengal, and after his resignation continued an alderman of the mayor's court) for a discovery and account of illicit trade carried on by him in the East Indies, after he had resigned the company's service, and of the gains made thereby, and that he might be decreed to pay the company after the rate of thirty per cent. according to the statute of the seventh of George the First. That the defendant put in a plea and demurrer to the information, insisting, that he was an alien by birth, and having been naturalized, was not compellable by law to make
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any answer to the information ; that his plea and demurrer were argued before the court in Trinity term, 1772 ; that the court over-ruled the plea and demurrer, and ordered the defendant to answer the information ; that the defendant has appealed to the House of Lords, and that this appeal was still there depending.

The committee further asked Mr. Nuthall, whether there were any, and what suits or prosecutions ordered by the court of directors against any of their servants in India, not yet commenced ; Mr. Nuthall informed the committee, that in February last, he received orders from the court of directors to prosecute Lord Clive, and a great number of gentlemen, who had been in the company's service in India, to recover very considerable sums claimed to be due from them to the company, on account of the duties on salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and which it was the opinion of their council were recoverable.

To proceed against Lord Clive to recover a demand of one $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. on the net dewannee revenues of Bengal, which his lordship received by way of commission, as president of Fort-William, for several months after he had quitted that presidency, and also against Mr. Verelst in respect of the commission of the said revenues, received by him when he was president at Fort-William, and to prosecute several other persons who had been in the company's service, on whom the company were advised they had demands, on account of the mahattute tax in Bengal : That three bills, in equity, have been prepared against a great number of defendants, respecting the trade and duties on salt ;
and

and against Lord Clive and Mr. Verelst separately, to recover the company's demands respecting the commission on the revenues ; that those bills have been perused and signed by the company's council, and that fair copies were immediately to be laid before Mr. Attorney General, for his approbation, before they are filed. That bill is likewise now before the company's council, against a great number of persons, for recovery of several large sums of money, received by them under colour of the mahatute tax ; and that these will be filed with all possible expedition, as soon as it has been approved of by the company's council and Mr. Attorney General, before whom that bill is also directed to be laid.

The committee examined several of the witnesses, who were best acquainted with Bengal, Whether it was possible to bring natives from that country to England, to give their testimony in any prosecution or suit to be commenced here for matters done or arising in Bengal ; and were informed, by all the witnesses who spoke to this point, that though they knew no obstruction to the bringing over Mahometan witnesses, but the length and expence of the voyage, they considered it as absolutely impossible to bring them over any witnesses of the Gentoo religion, it being one of the established principles of that religion, that water is sacred, and that to deile that element (which according to their notion is done by many unavoidable acts) is a profanation, for which, any person so offending shall forfeit his cast ; that if any Gentoo could be prevailed upon to cross the seas in order to come to England, they must necessarily

cessarily be persons destitute of their principles, which they are taught by their profession to revere, and therefore unworthy to receive credit as witnesses.

The committee must also observe, that in many cases, which might be proper subject of prosecution in this country, the testimony of the British subjects, or other Europeans residing in Bengal, may be necessary, and that the difficulty and expence of bringing over these, or any witnesses, seems almost an insurmountable obstruction to the use and efficacy of the statutes, allowing prosecutions in England for offences committed in India; and that the same circumstances equally obstruct the attainment of justice by civil action of any nature, for any injury, or demand, arising in that country.

The committee must further remark, that the power exercised by the general court, of putting a stop to prosecutions ordered by the court of directors, may tend greatly to defeat the efficacy of the statutes, as the person charged, especially where he is or has been in any considerable station in the company's service, may have it in his power, by the management of his friends, to contrive at some time or other, by a majority of a general court, to put a stop to the intending or depending prosecution.

The committee have now submitted to the house all the materials they have been able to collect upon the subject of the present state of judicature at Bengal, and Bahar. In the course of that enquiry, they were led into some questions relative to the rate of interest allowed in the courts of that
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country, they will conclude this report by stating to the house the information they received upon this subject.

Mr. Becher informed the committee, That in cases of mercantile debts, the courts sometimes allowed interest, and that he believed the rate allowed in such cases was one per cent. per mensem, which, he said, he considered as the current interest of the country in the mercantile transactions, amongst men of property and reputation ; that he has often heard of voluntary agreements for a much higher rate of interest, even to three per cent. per mensem, where the occasion has been urgent, and the loan for a short time, and attended with risk.

Mr. Manningham said, he could not ascertain the rate of interest which a court in that country will allow, but that they would not allow an exorbitant interest. That the usual interest given by the company, when he was in Bengal, was nine per cent. per annum ; by Europeans, in accounts with each other, ten per cent. per annum ; and by the natives, he believes, twelve per cent. per annum ; and that he imagines the cutchery did not allow above that rate. Being asked, what rate of interest he had known to be taken in the country, he said, that it was usual for the Seats, and other shroffs, (bankers) at Murshadabad, to furnish the zemindars, when pressed for money to pay their rents to government, at the rate of three per cent. per mensem.

The committee must observe, that, according to these accounts, three per cent. per mensem, is a rate of interest never given, but in cases of great emergency ; and nevertheless, that in the 18th
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proposition of the proposed regulations, lately transmitted from Bengal to the court of directors after stating; that the rates of interest hitherto authorised by custom, having mounted to the most exorbitant usury, the following rates are now established to be received and paid, as well for past debts, as on future loans on money, viz. one sum not exceeding one hundred rupees principal, an interest of three rupees per annus per cent. per mensem, or half an anna in the rupee; on sums above one hundred rupees principal, an interest of two rupees per cent. per mensem; the principal and interest to be discharged according to the condition of the bond; and all compound interest arising from an intermediate adjustment of accounts, to be deemed unlawful, and prohibited. When a debt is sued for upon a bond, which shall be formed to specify a higher interest than the established rates, the interest shall be wholly forfeited unto the debtor, and the principal only recoverable; and that all attempts to elude this law, by deductions from the original loan, under whatever denomination, shall be punished by a moiety of amount of the bond to government, and the other half to the debtor.

But the committee are inclined to think, that the said regulations point at such extortions as particularly appear in Murshadabad consultations of the 18th of February, 1772, (of which some account was given in a former report of the committee) containing evidence given by sundry gentoos on oath, relative to the interest of money in the province of Rungpore, in Bengal; from
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whence the committee collect, that though the family of the Seats, and others, have taken, for money lent by them, interest to the amount of three per cent. or perhaps in some cases, three and a half per cent. per annum. obligation to pay five per cent. per annum. have been there exacted, and the borrower compelled to pay the same, because those had been accustomed to lend at a lower rate now refused to supply them with money, alledging that if they attempted to recover their loan from the zemindars, such attempts would be frustrated by the power of the persons lending at five per cent.

And from the same evidence, the committee find, that even after an agreement to pay five per cent. the debtors have been actually obliged to pay fourteen per cent. and as these extortions have probably not been confined to the province of Rungpore, the committee think it the more likely these regulations, just stated, to have been made with a view to repress the same, as evidently inconsistent with the propriety of the country; and highly detrimental to the revenue received by the company.

The committee have thus reported all they have found material in the books and correspondence of the company, or in any evidence laid before them, concerning the judicatures of Bengal. They have made a considerable progress in their report concerning the conduct of the company's servants in India, in drawing the bills which were accepted between the first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and seventy one, and the first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two, and concerning the conduct of the company in England after the receipt of them; and the committee will report, with as much expedition as possible,

sible, what they find material with respect to this and the other object of this enquiry.

Copy of the fortieth paragraph of the letter from the governor and council in Bengal, for the department of the revenues, to the court of directors, dated 3d November 1772.

“ The more regular administration of justice was deliberated on by the committee of circuit, and a plan was formed by them, which afterwards met with our approbation. We cannot give you a better idea of the grounds on which it was framed, then by referring you to a copy of it, together with a letter from the committee to the board on this occasion ; both of which make numbers in this packet, and we earnestly recommend them to your perusal, requesting to be assisted with such further orders and instructions thereon, as they may require, for completing the system we have thus endeavoured to establish, on the most equitable, solid and permanent footing. We hope they will be read with that indulgence, which, we are humbly of opinion, is due to a work of this kind, undertaken on the plain principles of experience and common observation, without the advantages which an intimate knowledge of the theory of law might have offered us : we have endeavoured to adopt our regulations to the manners and understandings of the people, and exigencies of the country, adhering as closely as we are able, to their antient usages and constitutions. It will be still a work of some months we fear, before they can be thoroughly established throughout the provinces, but we shall

"shall think our labours amply recompenced, if they meet with your approbation, and are productive of the good effects we had in view."

Copy of a letter from the committee of council to the council at Fort William, dated Cossimbuzar the 15th of April, 1772.

"In the copy of our proceedings, which accompanied our letter of the 28th ultimo, we intimated our intentions of communicating to you our sentiments in a future address, upon the subject of the magistracy of this province, which, though an appendage of the nazimut, we considered as not necessarily connected with the propositions which were then recommended to your attention, and of too much importance to be lightly or only occasionally treated."

We now transmit to you the result of our deliberations on this subject, in the inclosed paper, intitled, "A plan for the administration of justice"; and if it meet with your approbation, we wish to receive your instructions for carrying it into immediate execution.

For the information of our honourable employers, it may be necessary to premise, what you will readily perceive, that in forming the inclosed plan, we have confined ourselves with a scrupulous exactness to the constitutional terms of judicature, already established in this province, which are not only such as we think in ourselves best calculated for expediting the course of justice, by such as are best adapted to the undertakings of the people. Where we shall appear to have deviated in any respect from the known forms, our intentions has been

been to recur to the original principals, and to give them that efficacy, of which they were deprived by venal and arbitrary innovations, by partial immunities granted as a relief against the general and allowed abuses and authority, or by some radical defect in the constitution of the courts in being ; and those changes we have adopted with the less hesitation, as they are all of such a nature, as, we are morally certain, will prove both of general satisfaction and general ease to the people.

The general principals of all despotic governments, that every degree of power shall be simple and undivided, seems necessarily to have introduced itself into the courts of justice ; this will appear from a view of the different officers of justice instituted in these provinces, which, however unwilling we are to engross your time with such details, we deem necessary on this occasion, in proof of the above assertions, and in justification of the regulations which we have recommended.

The nazim, as supreme magistrate, presides personally in the trials of capital offenders, and holds a court every Sunday, called the roz adawlet.

The dewan is the supposed magistrate for the decision of such causes as relate to real estates, or property in land, but seldom exercises this authority in person.

The darogo adawlet al Aalea is properly the deputy of the nazim ; he is the judge of all matters of property excepting claims of land and inheritance ; he also takes cognizance of quarrels, frays, and busive names.

The darogo adawlet dewannee, or deputy of the dewan, is the judge of property in land.

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The phoufdar is the officer of the police, the judge of all crimes not capital ; the proofs of these facts are taken before him, and reported to the nazim for his judgment and sentence upon them.

The cazee is the judge of all claims of inheritance or succession ; he also performs the ceremonies of weddings, circumcision and funerals.

The mohetfile has cognizance of drunkenness, and of the vending of spiritous liquors and intoxicating drugs, and the examination of false weights and measures.

The musfree is the expounder of the law.

Memorandum. The cazee is assisted by the musfree and mohetfile in his court. After hearing the parties and evidences, the musfree writes the fettwa, or the law applicable to the case in question, and the cazee pronounces judgment accordingly. If either the cazee or mohetfile disapproves of the fettwa, the cause is referred to the nazim, who summons the jilafs, or general assembly, consisting of the cazee, &c. and all the learned in the law, to meet and decide upon it. This decision is final.

The canongos are the registers of the lands. They have no authority ; but causes of lands are often referred to them for decision, by the nazim, or dewan, or darogo of the dewannees.

The cottvall is the peace-officer of the night, dependent on the phouzday. From this list it will appear, that there are three courts properly for the decision of civil causes (the canongos being only made arbitrators by reference from the other courts) and one for the police and criminal matters. The authority of the mohetfile in the latter being too confined to be considered as an exception ;

ception; yet, as all defective institutions soon degenerate, by use, in that form to which they are inclined, by the unequal prevalence of their component parts; so these courts are never known to adhere to their prescribed bounds, but when restrained by the vigilance of a wiser rule than commonly falls to the lot of despotic states; at all other times, not only the civil courts encroach on each other's authority, but both civil and criminal often take cognizance of the same subjects; or their powers gradually becomes weak and obsolete, through their own abuses, and the usurpations of influence. For many years past the dargoes of the Adawlet al Aalea, and of the dewannee, have been considered as judges of the same causes, whether of real or personal property; and the parties have made their application to chance, caprice, interest, or the superior weight and authority of either, directed their choice. At present, from obvious causes, the dewannee adawlet is in effect the only tribunal, the adawlut al Aalca, or the court of the nazim, existing only in the name.

It must however be remarked, in exceptions to the above assertions, that the phouzday being a single judicature, and the objects of it clearly designed, it is seldom known but in time of anarchy, to encroach on the civil power, or lose much of its own authority; this, however, is much the case at present.

The court in which the cazee presides, seems to be formed on wiser maxims, and even on more enlarged ideas of justice and civil liberty, than
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are common to the despotic notions of Indian government.

They must be unanimous in their judgment, or the case is referred in course to the general assembly; but the intention of this reference is defeated, by the importance which is given to it, and the unfurmountable difficulties attending the use of it. Few cases of disputed inheritance will happen, in which the opinions of three independent judges shall be found to concur. There is, therefore, a necessity, either that one shall overrule the other two, which destroys the purpose of their appointment, or that daily appeals must be made to the nazim, and his warrant issued to summon all learned in the law, from their homes, their studies, and necessary occupations, to form a tumultuous assembly, to hear and give judgment upon them. The consequence is, that the general assembly is rarely held, and only on occasions which acquire their importance, from that of the parties, rather than from the nicety of the case itself. The cazee, therefore, either advises with his colleagues in his own particular court, and gives judgment according to his own opinion, or more frequently decides without their assistance or presence.

Another great and capital defect in these courts is the want of a substitute or subordinate jurisdiction for the distribution of justice in such parts of the province as lie out of their reach, which in effect confines their operations in a circle, extending a very small distance beyond the bounds of the city of Murshadabad. This indeed is not universally the case; but perhaps it will not be difficult

cult to prove the exceptions to be an accumulation of the grievance ; since it is true, that the courts of adawlet are open to the complaints of all men ; yet it is only the rich or the vagabond part of the people who can afford to travel so far for justice ; and if the industrious labourer is called from the farthestmost part of the province to answer their complaints, and wait the tedious process of the courts, to which they are thus made amenable, the consequences in many cases will be more ruinous and oppressive, than an arbitrary decision could be, if passed against them without any law or process whatever.

This defect is not, however, left absolutely without a remedy ; the zemindars, farmers, shiedars, and other officers of the revenue, assuming that power for which no provision is made by the laws of the land, but which, in whatever manner it is exercised, is preferable to a total anarchy. It will however be obvious, that the judicial authority, lodged in the hands of men who gain their livelihood by the profits on the collections of the revenue, must unavoidably be converted to sources of private emolument ; and, in effect, the greatest oppressions of the inhabitants owe their origin to their necessary evil ; the *caza* has also his substitute in the districts, but their legal powers are too limited to be of general use ; and the powers which they assume being warranted by no lawful commission, but depending on their own pleasure, or the ability of the people to contest them, is also an oppression.

From this variety of materials, we have endeavoured to form the plan of a more complete, but more extensive system of judicature, by constituting

two superior courts at the capital, the one composed of the united magistracy of the adawlat al Aalea, the adawlet dewannee, and the cazea (or cazea's office) for the decision of civil causes; the other corresponding to the phouzdarree, for the trial of criminal cases. To prevent the abuse of the power vested in these courts, and to give authority to their decrees, each, instead of a single judge, is made to consist of several members; and their enquiries are to be conducted under the inspection and sanction of the supreme administration. To render the distribution of justice equal in every part of the province, similar but inferior courts are also proposed for each separate district, and accountable to the superior. The usurped power of the officers of the collections, and of the creditors, over the persons of their debtors, is abolished.

The judicial authority, which by the tenth regulation is still allowed to the farmers of the revenue, is a single exception to the general rule, which we have laid down, of confining such powers to the two courts of Adawlet; but as this is restricted to cases of property not exceeding ten rupees, and as they have no power of inflicting punishment, or levying fines, we think an ill use is not likely to be made of so inconsiderable a privilege, especially as they themselves are amenable to the courts of justice, which will be always ready to receive complaints against them; and some such means of deciding the trifling disputes of the ryetts upon the spot is absolutely necessary, as they cannot afford, nor ought to be allowed, on every mutual disagreement, to travel to the sudder cutcherry for justice.

The detestable and unauthorized exactions of the phouzdar court, which had its exact imitators in every farmer and aumil of the province, under the denomination of bazee jumma, have been prohibited, conformable to the wise and humane conjuncti^ons of our honourable masters ; who, from the same spirit of equity, have renounced the right hitherto exercised by country government, and authorized by the mahometan law, to a commission on the amount of all the debts, and on the value of all property recovered by the decrees of its courts ; a practice repugnant to every principal of justice, and it makes the magistrate a party in the cause on which he decides, and becomes a legal violation of the rights of private property committed by the power which should protect and secure it.

It has also been our aim to render the access of justice as easy as possible.

By keeping exact records of all judicial proceedings, it is hoped that these institutions, if they receive the sanction of your approbation, will remain free from the neglects and charges to which they would be liable from a less frequent inspection.

We have judged it necessary to propose some exceptions to the order of the court of directors, for the total abolition of fines in the court of phouzdarree. All offences are not punishable by stripes, and to sentence men of a certain rank in life, or of a superior cast, to such a public disgrace, would exceed the proportion of the offence, and extend the punishment to all the relations and connections of the delinquent ; to suffer him to escape with total impunity, would be an injustice in the other extreme :

trement : in such a case, there is but the middle way, which we can adopt with an equal regard to the spirit of our superior's commands and the rights of justice, that is, by levying the fine upon the offender, and converting it to a reparation of the injury.

Our motives for the abolition of the fees of the cazees and mustees, will best appear in the following extract of a minute of our proceedings at Kishan Nagar, relating to the tax on marriages, which we forbade to levy any longer. Convinced of the pernicious effects of so impolitic a tax, we propose to grant the same exemption to the other districts, subject to our direction and submit to your consideration, whether it will not be proper to make it general throughout the province.

The fees of the cazees and mustees have always procured a heavy grievance to the poor, and an impediment to marriage. Instances have been quoted of men of forty and fifty years of age, who having led a life of celibacy, availed themselves of the exemption of the nabob Meer Cossim about 1763, to enter into a state, from which they had been before precluded solely by the want of means to support the various expences attending it.

Extract of the proceedings of the committee at Kishan Nagar, dated June 28, 1772.

“ The collector explains the custom on marriage to be a tax levied by government, at the variable rate of three rupees eight annes, and four rupees four annes each. There are besides, fees paid to the cazees and mustees : the former receive from the

the principal inhabitants two rupees ; from the second class one rupee eight annes ; and from the lowest class, one rupee. The fees of the mustees are received from the mafferans and other people, who officiate at the festival ; so that on the whole, the fees of marriage may be estimated at six rupees for each, exclusive of the dues or voluntary benefactions of the Gentoos to their Bramins.

The committee are of opinion, and resolve accordingly, that all the fees and taxes of this article, which produce a revenue to government, be abolished, as tending to discourage population ; an object at all times of importance to government ; but more especially at this time, from the great loss of inhabitants, which the country has sustained by the late famine, and the mortality which followed it : they are farther of opinion, that the abolishing of the fees to the cazee and musree, will afford a great relief to the inhabitants, as it will not only absolve them from the fees themselves, but also from the effects of the oppressive mode in which these dues are exacted.

We have judged it necessary to add to the regulations, with respect to the courts of phouzdaree, a proposal for the suppression and extirpation of decoits, which will appear to be dictated by a spirit of rigour and violence, very different from the caution and lenity of our other propositions, as it involves in some respects, the innocent with the guilty. We wish a milder expedient could be suggested ; but we much fear, that this evil has acquired a great degree of its strength, from the tenderness and moderation which our government has exercised towards these banditti, since it has inter-
ferred

ferred in the internal protection of the provinces. We confess, that the means which we propose, can in no wise be reconcilable to the spirit of our own constitution ; but till that of Bengal shall attain the same perfection, no conclusion can be drawn from the English law, that can be properly applied to the manners or state of this country. The decoils of Bengal are not like the robbers in England ; individuals driven to such desperate courses by sudden want. They are robbers by profession, and even by birth ; they are formed into regular communities, and their families subsist by the spoils which they bring home to them ; they are all therefore alike criminal ; wretches who have placed themselves in a state of declared war against government, and are wholly excluded from the benefit of its laws. We have many instances of their meeting death with the greatest intemperance ; it loses therefore its effect as an example ; but when executed in all the forms and terrors of law, in the midst of the neighbours and relations of the criminals : when these are treated as accessaries to his guilt, and his family deprived of their liberty, and separated for ever from each other ; every passion which before served of an incentive to guilt, now becomes subservient to the purposes of society, by turning them from a vocation, in which all they hold dear : besides, life becomes forfeited by their conviction ; at the same time their families, instead of being lost to the community are made useful members of it, by being adopted into those of the most civilized inhabitants. The ideas of slavery, borrowed from our American colonies, will make every modification of it appear in the eyes of our
own

own countrymen in England, a dreadful evil : but it is far otherwife in this country ; here flaves are treated as the children of the families to which they belong, and often acquire a much happier ftate by their flavery, than they could have hoped for by the enjoyment of liberty ; fo that in effect the apparent rigour they exercifed on the children of convicted robbers, will be no more than a change of condition, by which they will be no fufferers ; though it will operate as a warning on others, and is the only means, which we can imagine capable of diffipating thofe desperate and abandoned focieties, which fubfift on the diftreffs of the general community.

According to the new plan for the adminiftration of juftice, two courts of judicature have been eftablifhed in each diftrict, one for the cognizance of civil caufes, the other for the trial of all crimes and mifdemeanors, and in the like manner two fuperior courts of juftice at the chief feat of government, to which prefide two members of the council by rotation. As nothing is more conducive to the profperity of any country, than a free and eafy accefs to juftice and redrefs, the collectors of each diftrict fhall at all times be ready to receive the petitions of the injured ; and to prevent their being debarred this accefs from motives of intereft, partiality or refentment in the officers or fervants of the cutcherry ; a box was ordered to be placed at the door of the cutcherry in which the complainants might lodge their petitions at any time or hour they please. As the litigiousnefs and perfeverance of the natives of this country, in their fuits and complaints, is often productive not only of inconvenience and vexation to their adverfaries,

versaries, but also a great expence and actual oppression, no complaints older than a stipulated date are actionable and should they be found guilty, as is often the case, of flying from the one court to the other, in order to prevent and protract the event of justice; the party so transgressing are considered as non-suited, and according to his degree in life and the notoriety of the offence, liable to fine or punishment.

By the Mahometan law all claims which have been dormant for twelve years, whether for land or money, are invalid. This is also the law of the Hindoos and the legal practice of the country.

The custom of levying on the account of money recovered on the decisive of causes, levy arbitrary fines, was absolutely and for ever abolished.

In all suits regarding inheritance, marriages, and other religious usages or institutions, the laws of the Koran with respect to Mahometans and these of the Shaffer with respect to Gentoos shall be invariable adhered to: on all such occasions the Bramins or moutavees shall respectively attend to expound the law, they shall sign the report and assist on passing the decrec. As the peace of the country had been for some years past greatly disturbed by bands of decoils, who not only infested high roads, but often plundered whole villages burning the houses and murdering the inhabitants; those abandoned out-laws having found means to elude every attempt which the vigilance of government had put in force, for detecting and bring such atrocious criminals to justice, by the secrecy of their haunts, and the wild state of the districts, which were most subject to their incursions,

curfions, it become the indifpenfible duty of government, to try the moft vigorous means, fince experience had proved every lenient and ordinary remedy to be ineffectual. It was therefore refolved, that every fuch criminal, on conviction fhould be carried to the village to which he belonged, and be there executed, for a terror and example to others; and for the further prevention of fuch abominable practices, the village of which he was an inhabitant, was to be fined, according to the enormity of the crime, and each inhabitant according to his fubftance, and the family of the criminal became the flaves of the ftates, and was difpofed of for the great benefit and convenience of the people, according to the difcretion of the government.

The Tannedars and pikes of the diftricts were to be punifhed by difmiffion, or fines if they neglected the duties of their charge; and as an encouragement for them to exert themfelves in the protection of the villages committed to their care, and in detecting and bringing to juftice offenders againft the public peace, grants of lands and peculiar privileges were granted them proportionable to their fervices.

The

The charges of the civil establishment of the company in India, for ten years war, set forth before the committee of secrecy, appointed by the house of commons, to amount to 3,660,426*l.* videlicet.

In the presidency of Fort William, to £. 2,017,791
 Fort St. George - 438,345
 Bombay - - - 956,887
 Bencoolen - - - 188,760
 St. Helena - - - 48,643

And the expences of the military establishments as set forth in the said report, to amount to 14,414,064, videlicet.

In the presidency of Fort William, to £. 8,143,058
 Fort St. George - 4,594,282
 Bombay - - - 1,403,913
 Bencoolen - - - 116,180
 St. Helena - - - 156,631

And the charges of fortifications and buildings in the several settlements in India, as set forth in the said reports, amounted to 2,288,981*l.* videlicet.

In the presidency of Fort William, to £. 1,601,967
 Fort St. George - 262,733
 Bombay - - - 396,585
 Bencoolen - - - 19,488
 St. Helena - - - 8,208

An account of the stated salaries and allowances to the company's civil servants in India and at St. Helena, with that of their commission upon the Indian revenues.

The governor of Bengal, per annum.	£.	4800	
Commission on the revenues	-	18,516	6
		<hr/>	
Total		23,316	6

The governor of Fort St. George			
per annum.	-	3,000	
Commission on the revenues	-	4,037	5
		<hr/>	
Total		7,037	5

The governor of Bombay, per annum.		1,668	15
Commission on the revenues	-	3000	
		<hr/>	
Total		4668	15

The governor of Bencoolen, per annum.		1,000	
Governor of St. Helena	-	600	
With table and servants	-	<hr/>	

Bengal second in council, per annum.	-	368	15
Commission on the revenues	-	2687	17
		<hr/>	
Total		3056	12

Bengal third, fourth and the rest in council, each per annum.	-	342	13
Commission on the revenues	-	1,194	12
		<hr/>	
Total		1537	5

Fort

Fort St. George, second in council	£. 276	10
Commission on the revenues	-	1067 7

Total 1333 17

Third, fourth and the rest in council,		
each	-	129 10
Commission on the revenues	-	480 12

Total 610 2

Bombay second in council	-	287 9
Commission on the revenuee	-	900

Total 1187 9

Third in council	-	145
Fourth, and the rest in council, each	-	125
Commission on the revenues	-	450

Total 720

Third in council.	-	595
Fourth, &c.	-	575

Senior merchants each, Bengal	-	81
Fort St. George	-	80
Bombay	-	85
Bencoolen	-	200

Junior merchants each, Bengal	-	75
Fort St. George	-	70
Bombay	-	75
Bencoolen	-	170

Factors

Factors each, Bengal	-	-	60
Fort St. George	-	-	60
Bombay	-	-	70
Bencoolen	-	-	150
Writers each, Bengal	-	-	50
Fort St. George	-	-	60
Bombay	-	-	60
Bencoolen	-	-	115
St. Helena second in council	-	-	350
Third	-	-	250
Fourth, &c.	-	-	180
Factors, each	-	-	100
Writers, each	-	-	70

Besides salary and diet, such as are not provided with apartments are allowed for house rent at Bengal 30l. per annum, at Bombay and Bencoolen 30l. and at St. Helena 10l.

The above salaries and allowances are exclusive of any emoluments from a chief-ship, or any other office or employ ; and also exclusive of an allowance to the governor and council at Bencoolen of 3l. per ton, on all the pepper exported from thence, which on a supposition that it is 2000 tons per annum. will be 6000l.

The council at Bengal and Fort St. George, consists of ten members, and at Bombay, it is composed of nine.

The stated salary allowances and gratuity posts of the company's civil servants at Fort William, and subordinates from 1762 to 1772 inclusive, are as follows :

Gover-

Governor and cash-keeper	- £. 24,000	
Second in council, yearly salary,		
monthly allowance, house rent,		
twenty-one and a half per cent.		
on the net produce of the Calcutta		
lands, and one per cent. on the		
mint customs		1697 10
Accomptant and collector of lands		
and revenues	- -	5001 10
Third and sixth in council and chiefs		
of Patna and Chittagong	-	12,720
Fourth in council and chief of Cas-		
simbuzar	- -	4360
Fifth in council and chief of Lucky-		
pore	- -	2860
Seventh in council and chief of		
Decca	- - -	2360
Eighth in council export and ware-		
house-keeper	- -	1181 10
Ninth in council, custom-master,		
&c.	- -	1181 10
Tenth in council, import ware-		
house-keeper	- -	1181 10
Chaplain	- -	270
Five junior merchants	-	3150
One junior merchant and commis-		
sary-general	- -	762 15
Junior merchant and chief at Mid-		
napore	- -	762 15
Junior merchant and president at		
Malda	- - -	762 15
Junior merchant and mint-master ditto		762 15
• Total salary and emoluments.	24,000	
Nine counsellors	- -	38,196 12
		One

One chaplain	-	-	2,070
Nine junior merchants	-	-	12,555 14
Nineteen factors	-	-	37,756 15 3
Two surgeons	-	-	3,462 2 6
Twenty-seven writers	-	-	35,972 12 9
Current Rupees.			
Resident at Burdwan	-	-	1541 10

The total amount of salary and emoluments of the council, senior and junior merchants, factors, writers, chaplains and surgeons from the year 1762 to 1772 is 230,400l. 17s. 11d.

The ordinary charges of Fort St. George, for salary, diet and allowances, never exceeded 71,698l. a year, and were in the year 1763, no more than 23,169l.

The ordinary charges of the civil establishment of Bombay, amounted in the year 1771, to 145,536l.

The state of Bencoolen civil charges, amounted in 1768, to 25,855l. and in 1761 only to 2,666l.

The civil establishment of St. Helena, including medicines and maintaining of blacks, amounted in 1769, to 5,857l. and never exceeded that sum.

According to the late regulations respecting the establishment of the forces in Bengal, all officers or soldiers, whether of cavalry infantry, artillery or seapoys; all lascars artificers and workmen of every denomination, acting in the field within the provinces, are allowed full batta; half batta is paid to all of them, while in garrisons, cantonments or quarters.

Double batta is granted to commissioned officers only, when they are acting in the field beyond the provin-

provinces, and half double, or full batta, when in garrison cantonments or quarters beyond the provinces ; but officers who receive a double proportion of batta, are not entitled to draw the monthly gratuity. No officer under the rank of a field officer, when commanding a detachment on actual service, is to receive more batta than he claims from his rank ; but all field officers commanding detachments, either on actual service or divisions of brigades in cantonments are allowed the batta of officers next in rank above them.

When beyond the province in quarters or cantonments, the commanding officer, not being a field officer, shall draw his full batta, all the other officers half batta only. All the staff who are commissioned officers, receive pay and gratuity, besides their pay and allowances on the staff, according to their military rank ; but batta only in one capacity, that of their highest rank.

Such of the staff who are not commissioned officers, and who have occasionally rank only by their office, have no right to the monthly gratuity.

An allowance of three days diet monthly, agreeable to the victualling contract, is made to all soldiers, on their first arrival at Fort William from England, or any of the presidencies ; and the contractor's full allowance for one day is given to the military in general ; on Christmas, new year's day, and the king's birth day ; and also for three days after any detachment returning into garrison or cantonment from the field. No contingent bill exceeding 300 rupees is to be paid, unless countersigned by the commander in chief. The court of directors were pleased to allow a commission of

two and half per cent. upon their net revenues, to be divided amongst their principal servants, civil and military; the amount of this commission is to be divided into one hundred shares; those allotted to the military to be as follows:

The commander in chief as such only, he not being to share either as a member of the council or secret committee.

	Shares
To colonels each - - - - -	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lieutenant colonels each about - -	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Major's about - - - - -	1 1

The court of directors farther declared, that the ample provisions here assigned to the commander in chief, assures him of an honourable competency, and they expect the commanding officers will shew an unremitting attention to their duty, and the preventing of all frauds and abuses in the expences of the army.

The appointments made to the rest of the field officers are such, as put their service on a more advantageous footing than any other service in the world, and give them the prospect of improving their fortune by a gradual progression.

The court of directors ordered that the establishment of field officers of this presidency shall not exceed the following number, viz:

Three colonels of infantry, including the commander in chief.

Six lieutenant colonels of infantry,

One lieutenant colonel of artillery.

One lieutenant colonel of engineers.

Six

Six majors of infantry.

Three majors of seapoys.

One major of artillery.

One major of engineers.

The army is composed of three brigades,

Three regiments were formed by lord Clive. Every new governor and general, on their accession to command, seem to be fond of innovations, stiled improvements, purposely to display their talents and genius fruitful in resources. Thus three strong regiments were split into six weak battalions and the companies reduced from seventy to fifty nine companies. Thus expanded into eighteen required twice the number of non commissioned officers, upon the activity, steadiness, sobriety and skill of serjeants and corporals, depends in great measure the discipline and regularity of every corps in this part of the world. Such people are scarce in England, still scarcer in India. These deficiencies were supplied by necessity from the rank; hence the companies were further diminished and the service almost irreparably injured. Previous to any alteration a large proportion of recruits ought to have been levied. As it is, the companies are in so low a state, that what with the casualties of one kind or other, there are scarcely ever platoons of above fifteen men, not sick in the field.

There is a captain to every company, for the field officers have neither companies nor battalions of seapoys, two field officers therefore to each battalion of infantry are superfluous. By reducing their number, the government might annually save several thousand pounds, and these higher commis-

sions, being scarce, could be more desirable and more respectable too.

The excess of allowances to the captain of artillery, by the charge of hussars, artificers and other workmen, delegated to him, renders his post more lucrative than is consistent with the equality requisite to every service. The artillery have much greater pay; and if they have more trouble than the infantry that is sufficient compensation for it. One field officer, lord Clive, thought full enough for this corps, because each company has a captain, and the field officer is not confined to any particular station, but must reside where the commander in chief does.

Lord Clive in the year 1765, changed the military pay from Arcot to Sunnet rupees, for what reason has never been assigned; for it could neither be from frugality, nor a desire to serve the army; yet the soldier seldom receives his subsistence in that specie. The fluctuation of exchange often occasions considerable loss to the men, productive of continual murmurings and discontent. The troops should be paid in one real not imaginary coin, whereof they know the actual value; which ought to be settled at the same standard throughout the provinces, much less be subject to an annual variation.

In consideration of the æconomical system and various restrictions established in 1765, the field officers had other indulgencies, thought adequate to their stations, these were afterwards reluctantly yielded, and at length either curtailed, on different pretexts, or qualified by sundry modifications, till they became levelled to the present standard. Reductions

questions of this kind were absolutely wrong, un-
 advised and improper, and they left an indelible
 impression of injustice. Much thought and pre-
 caution are requisite in framing pecuniary regula-
 tions, or increasing subsidies in any department.
 To avoid a present and perhaps slight inconveni-
 ence, is the usual plea for such augmentations,
 which tends afterwards to very disagreeable em-
 barassments, if not insuperable difficulties. The
 officers had been often assured that they should
 be rewarded for their services; but those promises
 were violated; a want of faith highly unbecoming
 the dignity of government. Inclination for the
 service must be discouraged by such fallacies;
 scarcely one of the officers afterwards reposed any
 confidence in the faith of their governors and na-
 turally suspected every order they issued, that seem-
 ed to bear the least resemblance of favour to them,
 to be insidious, calculated to serve a turn, and to
 admit of a sinister interpretation whenever they
 should think fit to expound it. The officers are
 the body that must in time of danger, support the
 supreme authority, to the civil and military;
 therefore it is an advantage to the service for them
 to think they are laying the foundation of an in-
 dependency, their allowances were the only chan-
 nel of recommendation for their labours. The
 genius of Bengal, and the generous, not to say
 profuse spirit diffused throughout the inhabitants
 of it, obliges every officer to appear in a state fit to
 support his importance and his popularity.

Five officers of the brigade, said the noble pro-
 fident, are constantly of my family, besides occa-
 sional guests, and yet I am not remarkable for being
 much

much enamoured of society, or for convivial liberality, the le ft so, perhaps of any in my rank. His lordship has delineated his own character in a few words, as a most unsocial solitary being.

He thought the model of brigades a happy contrivance, admirably calculated by the incorporating foreign with native troops, for the defence of distant provinces.

In regard to the batta, the company never saved a rupee by its reduction. Before this reformation, officers never demanded quarters for themselves, or busierous for their conveyance, but were content with such huts and boats as they first found, at their own expence, or took their chance in tents against the inclemency of the weather. After they had been curtailed of this douceur, temporary quarters were built every year, and repaired. All sorts of allowance delivered in kind, and contingent accounts vying with each other in extravagance.

The seapoys are excellent light troops, if properly disciplined, with able commanders; they are easily recruited, a concourse of lusty young fellows amongst them offering daily their services to the army. These troops want only to be led on well, to be kept steady; and to be restrained from firing and rushing on precipitately to the attack or pursuit. When there is a scarcity of men a trusty havildar is sent into their own country with a smart, new, turban, glaring sword, laced coat, and some money; he generally succeeds; his fair speeches and tinsel coat attracts many followers. The use of fifes and drums may be introduced among them with effect; their ears become habituated

habituated to this martial music, which would tune their feet to the quick movements of European soldiers, and their manœuvres, and teach them to run to arms, and assemble at the regular signals and alarms.

The black cavalry is at present of no farther use than to attend the commander in chief and colonels of brigades, and are too inconsiderable to be of service in time of war; it is impossible, from the viciousness of their horses, to discipline cavalry in Indostan to a tolerable degree of perfection: they are very expensive to the government; the pay of a single troop exceeding that of a seapoy battalion. The European cavalry is almost as insignificant.

The *Lascars* are the only hard working people in the country; they are a very useful body in every part of their business, particularly in the management of cannon, in which they are almost as expert as European matrosses.

Lord Clive modelled the army according to the following establishment:

The army to be formed into four brigades.

A brigade to consist of one regiment of infantry, one company of artillery, four battalions of seapoys, two troops, or four squadrons of cavalry, in time of war only, and one battalion of *lascars*.

The staff of a brigade, to be one brigade major, one aid-de-camp, one chaplain, one pay-master, and one commissary.

A regiment of infantry to consist of one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, two grenadiers companies, and eight battalion companies.

A bat-

A battalion company, of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, five serjeants, five corporals, two drums, and seventy private.

A grenadier company, of one captain, two lieutenants, five serjeants, five corporals, three drums, and seventy private.

A company of artillery to consist of one captain, three lieutenants, four ensigns, ten serjeants, ten drums, and ten fifes, one commandant, and one adjutant, with the rank of subedars.

Each company to consist of seventy seapoys.

Black cavalry, each troop to consist of one captain, three lieutenants, one serjeant-major, six serjeants, two side-drums, two trumpets, and two hundred private.

Were the squadrons made as large in India as in Europe, they would, from the vicious nature of the horses, become unwieldy and unmanageable.

The army would have been better calculated for defending the provinces, had a suitable distribution been made of it in conjunction with the independent troops.

The company have shamefully neglected to put all their advantageous posts in a state of defence.

Chittagong is absolutely defenceless; nor is there one material obstacle to obstruct an enemy's invasion to the eastward, and march to the presidency. According to a former proposal of Mr. Vansittart, a fortress might be erected there, conveniently situated; secured by posts, and surrounded by water; it needs not be very large. Were the enemy then to attempt to land and pro-

ceed

ceed westward, they might be engaged between two fires.

The Moratta cavalry are the only dangerous foes to the south-west; some of the strong-holds in Midnapore, and the frontiers of Burdwan, should therefore be repaired, for these are the weakest sides of the company's settlements. Encouragement should also be given to the inhabitants of these countries to build their houses in clumps on rising grounds, and such little mud forts as are frequent through the Bahar province. They are impregnable to horse, and many of them cannot be taken without cannon. The width and depth of their ditches serve as a safe lodgment to their cattle, as their walls do for their families and grain.

The works of Banampore are sufficient to secure the passage of the Ganges, and that of the Cossimbuzar river, all round the island.

The factory of Mauldah with a little addition can be made capable of protecting the Mauldah river; and a little expence would render the works of Oadanullah a competent guard to all the country round Rajamahall.

As the pass of Teliagaree over-awes the river, and entirely prevents access to the country on that side, it may be easily fortified.

Mongheer will be always a desirable station for the company's troops; it requires but little money, time, or labour, to repair its fortifications; little more is wanted than to clean the ditch, and to restore the breaches in the walls and parapets, and to slope the glacis. The place itself has a good magazine in it, and covers all the passes into the country,

country, besides cutting off the communication on that side between Bahar and Bengal.

The city of Patna and fort of Beltat sufficiently command the graduck, as Roles does the course of the Soane.

Some strong work should be thrown up on our side at Mansee, a town at the confluence of Gerah with the Ganges, in order to prevent surprise from that quarter. The Gorah runs close by Farrabad.

The fort of Buxar has been repaired; it defends the mouth of the Caramnassa, and the great river up to Benares.

Juanpore should never have been restored; that fortress is on the banks of the Goomby, which washes the walls of Lacknow, and empties itself into the Ganges near Benares, it is in the centre of a fine country, fruitful in grain and provisions. The possession of this place had secured the company's possessions against any clandestine attempt of the nabob of Oude, from his capital.

Churnagur may be easily protected from any insult of the enemy, while Allahabad is garrisoned with the company's troops, and the place has a sufficient number of troops to prevent a *coup-de-main*.

The navigation of the Junnah and Ganges is effectually preserved or interrupted by these two forts; and as the great mart of Midnapore lies also between them, they could distress the whole country round in case of necessity.

Whenever a war does break out, the seat of it will probably be in Bahar, or eastward of it; in that case there are no places in the company's territories,

ries, so commodiously situated, both for lodging stores and supplying provisions to the army ; by the absolute command of so many large streams, all of free navigation, and communicating with each other, both for the present and permanent security of their possessions, the four brigades should be stationed as follows : one at Chittagong, another at Barrampore, a third at Dynapore, and the fourth at Allahabad ; which places ought to be considered as the head quarters. Detachments may be dispersed in the most convenient posts adjacent. Those of Chittagong ought partly to supply the presidency and Decca, and Barrampore partly the presidency and Mongheer. Dynapore might furnish Buxar, and the works on the Gograh of Allahabad might Churnagur and Jimpore. The troops at Mithnapore and Burdwan will be sufficient to protect all their own confines : these at Marhadabad will guard the borders towards Rungpore down to Decca : the brigade at Dynapore will awe all the interior parts of Bahar, while the Patna purgunnah's spread themselves along the southern limits. Thus distributed, they would derive plenty to themselves, by securing the property of the inhabitants, wherever they resided, and would also cause a more equal diffusion of their money throughout the country.

The expence of one troop of European cavalry on the Bengal establishment for the governor's guard, the pay and allowance included, amounts per annum. to 2729l.

The commanding officer is allowed for feeding two horses for himself, and for feeding the twenty-six horses for his troop, 30 rupees per month.

The expence of a regiment of black cavalry on the Bengal establishment, consisting of three troops pay and allowance included, amounts to 30,807l. each troop's expence computed at 10,269l.

The European officers maintain their horses out of their pay and allowance, and the serjeants in lieu of batta, are dieted the same as the infantry. All the black officers drums and troopers maintain their own horses out of their pay, and are not allowed any batta.

The expence of one battalion of European infantry on the Bengal establishment, consisting of 27 officers, 38 serjeants, 38 corporals, 20 drums, 404 private, 527 amounts to 16,644l. 8s. 4d. per annum.

The whole consisting of three regiments of two battalions each, with one colonel to each regiment, the amount is 107,798l. 10s.

The expence of a brigade of seapoys, consisting of 6 battalions, amount to 117,399l.

The expence of one battalion of lascars for the service of the ordnance on the Bengal establishment, the pay of batta included, amounts to 6,480l.

The ordnance of a brigade, agreeable to the new regulations, will require from six to seven hundred bullocks for its draught, including guns and tumbrils of the seapoys battalions.

To	2	24 pounders	each	24 bullocks.
	2	12 ditto		10 ditto
	8	6 ditto		8 ditto
	2	howitzer		6 ditto
	12	3 pounders	attached to the seapoys	
		battalions,		6 ditto
Twenty-				

Twenty-two tumbrels should be attached to the above ordnance, and to each of these 10 bullocks.

The number of spare carriages for the said ordnance, and bullocks for their draught, should be as follows :

	Bullocks.
1—24 pounder, to which must be allowed	24
1—12 ditto - - -	10
3--- 0 ditto, eight bullocks each -	24
1 Howitzer - - -	6
6---3 pounders, 6 bullocks each -	36
Artificers cart, and money tumbril, 10 each	20

Allowing spare bullocks in the proportion of one to every fix, that the whole number proposed for the ordnance attached to each brigade, will then amount to 649.

Lord Clive having been requested to peruse the new code of regulations of the military committee, held at Fort William, 1770, and to communicate his opinion in regard to them. His lordship made the following observations.

That one adjutant and one quarter-master in the artillery is sufficient ; and that the having both these officers is an unnecessary expence.

There is no occasion for a magazine or park serjeant ; , these duties may be done by the common serjeant of the artillery.

The number of lascars should be reduced one half in time of peace, as a greater number at that time is unnecessary, and they may easily be raised in time of war.

The allowance to adjutants for writing, and to quarter-masters for fircars, and also for candles, are few articles of charge and unnecessary,

The

The ten fircars and the ten watermen to each battalion of sepoy may be reduced to one-half of that number in time of peace.

The pay-masters and commissioners being covenanted servants, are not entitled to any extraordinary allowance except batta when they are in the field.

Allowance for horses to the staff officers and aids-de-camp, and candles to the latter when in garrison is unnecessary.

The allowance for boats to individual officers unnecessary, except field officers, who command detachments and are obliged to keep tables.

Lord Clive being asked, whether the officers and soldiers could serve at a smaller expence in Bengal than on the coast of Coromandal, he answered, " That he was of opinion, an European officer or soldier could live as cheap in the first of these settlements as in the latter, with respect to all articles except those which come from Europe. And being farther asked, whether these European articles are necessary to the officers and soldiers? he replied, that none of them were necessary to the soldier, but that wine and some other articles were necessary to the officer.

Colonel Caillaud had formerly proposed to raise a body of European cavalry for the service of the company, consisting of two troops of dragoons; the company to be at the whole first expence of fitting out each troop compleat; after which, the captain of each troop is to keep all their accoutrements, furniture, &c. belonging to the horses in good repair; likewise, to maintain their horses, provide them with shoes and physic, &c. and to defray

defray every other necessary charge, for which he is to be allowed thirty rupees per month for every horse in the field, and twenty rupees per month for every horse while in garrison; the company to give the first cloathing; also to establish one troop of Hussars, on the same pay and under the same regulations as the dragoons; also to establish two companies of artillery. The board approved of these proposals; and as the number of troops by the returns, amounted to near 1200 men, and the deduct is from thence of 435 men, of which these new establishments were to consist, would leave a residue of about 750 men, the board ordered this remainder to be divided into ten companies and their proper officers. The directors having complained that their military charges were large and still unnecessary, they recommended that no innovations should be introduced without an absolute necessity. And they added, that as the presidency had formed two troops of European horse, and a party of Hussars upon colonel Caillaud's representation of the absolute necessity of such a corps of cavalry, they hoped this measure which was a heavy addition to their military expence, was not undertaken without such absolute necessity; but that however, since these troops had been raised, the greatest care should be taken to keep the expences attending them within the limits mentioned, and as soon as the circumstances would safely admit, the whole corps, or at least a part should be reduced. As two companies of artillery were greatly insufficient for this branch of the service, when the army was in the field, the presidency of

Fort

Fort William agreed to raise a third company on the same establishment as those then existing.

Considering the present situation of the company's affairs upon the coast of Coromandel and in Bengal, their territorial acquisitions they could not be preserved without a very respectable military force ; this force, in the opinion of general Lawrence, engineer Call, and general Caillaud, should consist of 3000 infantry, 200 cavalry, 300 artillery, all Europeans, and 5000 seapoys at each of the said two presidencies ; that the annual expence thereof at each settlement, according to a calculation made by Mr. Call, would amount to the sum of 12,000*l.* a year ; that if through an ill-timed parsimony, any great misfortune should happen to the company, the court of directors would undoubtedly incur severe censure, by not attending, as far as was really necessary for safety, to the opinion and judgment of officers of such distinguished abilities and experience.

In consequence of these representations, they stated the expences of Fort William and Fort St. George presidencies, at the sum of 120,000*l.* each, viz.

Infantry three battalions of 700 men each, being 21 companies or 2100 men, including 3 majors, 18 captains, 21 lieutenants and 21 ensigns.

Cavalry, two companies or 300 men, including 2 captains, 4 lieutenants and 4 cornets.

Artillery, three companies, or 300 men, including 3 captains, 6 lieutenants, and 6 fire-workers. Total of Europeans, 2,600.

Seapoys, four battalions of 1000 men each, 4000 men, including 4 captains, 4 lieutenants and 4 ensigns, all Europeans. Total 6,600 men.

The

The pay was continued upon the establishment then existing, and the major's received sixteen shillings per day, which included both the pay of major and captain.

Lord Clive, in a letter to the court of directors of April 1764, proposed that the company should always have in Bengal, at least 3000 Europeans, to consist of 3 battalions of 700 each, 4 companies of artillery of 100 each, and 500 light horse; and he observed, that though their forces had done great things and had gained great honour, much was still wanting to bring them to that due obedience and subordination, which is consistent with the interest of the service; that while his majesty's forces were abroad, and the companies had so few of them, our two or three field officers might answer the purpose, but that as his majesty's troops had been recalled, they should immediately endeavour to supply this deficiency. He recommended particular officers, with whose military merits he declared himself well acquainted. Upon this occasion he added, that he had very strong reasons to wish, that this idea of regimenting their troops might take place, for that without such a subordination, he should not be able to enforce the orders of the directors for the reduction of their military expences, which had been a constant dead weight, and had swallowed up their revenues.

The committee of correspondence having compared the plan of lord Clive, with that adopted by the company, were of opinion, that the governor and council should abide by the company's plan as to the number of men for the present. Application was made to the secretary at war, for a superior commission

commission for major Adams, in regard to the great service he had rendered the company.

Though lord Clive had proposed six battalions of seapoys, making 6000 men, the company's present establishment consisting of four battalions, of 4000 men, was to remain in *statu quo*.

Lord Clive, under pretence of preventing clauses, appointed seporate pay-masters with deputies and a commissary to each brigade. The infantry in Bengal was in such a deplorable condition, that young men were wanting to recruit it.

The committee having taken into consideration the great amount of surgeon's bills, for attending the military in the field, and in garrison, they resolved to contract with them in future, at a certain rate, for providing every thing for the people except cloathing and lodging; the same to be fixed at eighteen shillings per month, and orders were issued accordingly.

The board taking into consideration the present state of the army, and the great expence incurred by maintaining so large a force, not only for their defence and security, but likewise for collecting the revenues of the kingdoms of Bengal and Bahar, were of opinion, that the company should only stand charged for such a part of the forces as were necessary for the defence of their out fortifications, and their territorial possessions, and that the government should be charged with the rest. It was therefore the opinion of the board, that one of the brigades, consisting of a regiment of nine companies of Europeans and of six battalions of seapoys, would suffice for the protection of the company's fortifications and districts of Calcutta, Chittagong, Burdwan,

Burdwan, and Midnapore, and that the first brigade should be appointed to that service, and if at any time this brigade should be under the necessity of taking the field, in such case the barra, and all extraordinary expences on that account were to be charged to the government. Lord Clive explained the meaning of this minute to the committee; one of the brigades was to be charged to the company, and the expences paid out of their territorial possessions, ceded to them by the nabob of Bengal; but all the extra expences of that brigade, and all the expences of the rest of the army were to be charged upon the dewannee révenues.

The select committee at Fort William represented, that the great and national object of encreasing the company's investments,* was not to be secured and perpetuated without an unwearied attention to their military establishment, and the maintaining of a force proportioned to the risque incurred by the company's influence and possessions: that the dismissal of the nabob's useless military rabble, and of those troops that were kept up by the Rajah's in their several districts, for the purpose of enforcing the collections, had obliged the presidencies to raise eight battalions of independent seapoys. That notwithstanding the great number of recruits sent out this year from England, and the liberal supply of troops granted by the presidency at Fort St. George, the mortality on board the transports had been so great, as well as the effects of the late unhealthy season had been so fatal, that the presidency could not avoid being alarmed at the extraordinary disproportion between their Europeans and black infantry; whose dangerous in-

tolence and turbulent spirit, had evinced the necessity of keeping them in awe and subjection.

Lord Clive informed the committee that upon a mutiny among the officers, and their being turned out of the Fort of Mongheer, a battalion of Europeans got under arms, with a view to mutiny, and follow their officers; that a battalion of seapoys upon receiving advice of such a design, immediately marched up to them, and reduced them to submission.

The board being apprized that there was no cheque upon the surgeon majors of each brigade, according to the plan in which their hospitals were conducted, appointed at lord Clive's requisition, a surgeon-general, with power to inspect into the state of all military hospitals, at the pay of ten shillings per day.

The board deliberating on the little service the small body of cavalry on the company's pay can ever be of, and considering that in the time of actual service, it would be either exposed to the perpetual hazard of being cut off, if at any distance from the infantry, or prove an embarrassment, if joined to it; and reflecting also, that the expence of a body of horse capable of doing real service, would exceed their means, since the annual cost of so inconsiderable a number as they now maintained was not less than rupees 30,0675 : 1 : 2. they resolved that the whole cavalry, both European and Indostan be directly disbanded, and that the European officers, serjeants, &c. be incorporated with the brigades.

Youn

Your committee in the next place proceeded to lay before the house what has occurred to them upon the articles of pay at batta.

And they find, by a minute of a consultation at Fort William of the twenty-third of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, that the committee of accounts laid before the board or statement of the difference of pay between the king's and company's officers and private men, and of a gratuity to make them equal ; as likewise a list of allowances to be made the officers in the field, upon a representation of colonel Coote on that subject, and that the board consented to the payment of such differences, till such time as the company's pleasure should be known.

And the committee find, that thirty-nine of the military officers delivered in a letter to the board, dated September the 21st, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, assigning their reasons why the double batta should not be struck off; and therein representing, that it would be impossible for an officer to live in a manner suitable to his station, if that reduction took place, house-rent and prices of all provisions being so greatly increased within a few preceding years, while their allowances in garrison continued the same.

That it was only with the assistance of what little an officer could save out of his full batta in the field, that he was enabled to subsist decently the most of the year in garrison, and fit himself out for the next campaign ; and that it would readily appear how little could be saved in the field, when the

the great expences an officer is there liable to, were considered ; to say nothing of the losses he often met with by the death of horses and the desertion and interception of coolies with his baggage; for which no allowance was made.

That it was true, the officers on the coast subsisted on less batta, but this was not without much difficulty, though most kind of provisions are much cheaper there than in Bengal ; that the campaigns of those officers were never at much distance from one settlement or other, either English or foreign, as to oblige them to carry so large a stock of necessaries with them as an officer in Bengal was under a necessity of doing, since this army was generally three or four hundred miles from Calcutta, the only place whence they could be supplied ; Patna, Cossimbuzar, and other subordinates, affording little or nothing. That the being obliged to carry so much baggage made the expence of hiring coolies run very high, whereas the supplies, that are sent to the camp on the different settlements on the coast, did not bear so exorbitant a price, nor were the charges of carriages so great : that if an officer, by the means of great frugality, and denying himself the comforts of life, in a long course of years had it in his power to lay by a little money, perhaps to maintain a family, or to enable him to revisit his native country ; yet he must pay an extravagant price before he could get a passage home : that the reduction of batta would entirely deprive him of the hope of returning ; there being no half-pay allowed, nor any other provision made, as there is in his majesty's service for those who may be rendered incapable of serving them.

themselves for their country, by old age, loss of limbs, or other accidents, which a foldier is always liable to : that in India their rank is inferior to that of the king's officers ; and that in Europe they have no military rank at all.

That they therefore trust in the justice of the presidency, not so far to under rate the service of their military officers, as to think of reducing their allowance, when they have already so greatly the disadvantage, in point of interest, of every other branch of the company's servants, that nothing but their zeal for the service, and a regard for their profession, can be supposed to retain them in it.

And the committee find, that the board ordered captains Champion and Bradbridge (the two senior captains in Calcutta, who signed that letter) to deliver in, next council day, an estimate of such extraordinary expences as they judged to be absolutely necessary in the field ; and that they likewise ordered the commissary general to lay before the board an account of the amount of officers batta for the last year.

And the committee find, by a minute of consultation at Fort William, of the twenty-fifth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, that the commissary general laid before the board the account of batta allowed the officers in the field, from December one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, to November one thousand seven hundred and sixty : which is as follows :

Fort

Fort William, Sept 25, 1761.
Account of batta to the military, from Decem-
ber 1759 to November 1760.

Batta to the officers under colonel Caillaud :

December, 1759 - -	9353	7	6
January, 1760 - -	11689	6	6
February - - -	11172	9	8
March - - -	11756	2	9
April - - -	14398	0	0
May - - -	17674	0	10
June - - -	20923	11	0
July - - -	20036	4	1
These months the troops were in cantonments, and had singular batta only.	August -	9371	5 2
	Sept. -	11854	1 3
	October	11014	0 0
	Nov. -	11294	8 9
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		160,537	9 6

Batta to officers on the de-
tachment under capt.
Spears, from February
1760 to April 1760,
both months included - -

12,052 6 0

Batta to officers on the
detachment under
capt. Fischer, from
February 1760 to July
1760, both months
included - - -

26,025 1 6

Batta to officers with
the detachment un-
der major Yorke ;

September, 1760 - - - 708 7 6

October

(347*)

October, - - - -	3,872	14	0
November - - - -	5,937	13	6
	<hr/>		
Current rupees -	209,134	4	0

And the committee find, that captains Champion and Bradbridge likewise laid before the board an estimate of the expences monthly, necessary for a captain during a campaign; which is as follows, viz.

Fort William, Sept. 25, 1761.

Estimate of expences monthly necessary for a captain during a campaign.

Garrison. Field. Difference.

Head servant - -	5	10	5
Another ditto - -	3	6	3
Cook - - - -	4	9	5
Barber - - - -	1	2	1
Washerman - -	1	2	1
Bearers - - - -	16	41	25
Coolies for baggages,			
eight - - - -	0	0	40
Two Peons - - -	0	0	12
Horse keeping - -	0	0	30

Difference of the price of liquors :

Madeira - 30 bottles, at 1-8 each	45	0
Beer - 30	12	28 8
Arrack - 15	4	3 12

71 4

Supposing five to mess together,

proportion of coolies - - - - 40 0

For

For extraordinary dearness of pro-	
sions, &c.	40 0
Ditto wearing apparel	40 0
	<hr/>
	A. rupees 313 0

It is to be observed, that no allowance is made for the prime cost of horse and palanquin, which cannot be less than one thousand rupees; nor for risque, breakage, and losses of all sorts, to which an officer is liable during the course of a campaign.

And the committee find, that thereupon the board resolved, that, notwithstanding their great desire to make so considerable a saving for the company, as would be done by reducing one half of the officers' batta, yet having mutually considered every article of the above estimate, they could find nothing in them more than seemed necessary; and that they therefore resolved, that the batta be continued on the present footing.

And the committee find, That the board likewise took under their deliberation the vast expence of elephants, camels, victualling the troops, and furnishing boats; and thinking it the most eligible method of reducing these expences, that advertisements should be published for contracts to be entered into with the persons who will agree at the cheapest rates, they ordered notice to be given to the present contractors, that their contracts should cease the thirty first of December next ensuing; and they directed, that the most proper conditions should be drawn out, and laid before the board for their

their inspection, before such advertisement took place.

And the committee find, by the company's general letter to Bengal, of March the ninth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, that the directors replied, that the extraordinary allowance of double batta, was what they could not pass over, without some animadversions: that such an increase of allowance was not only entirely new to them; but no reasons were given, why of late it would be deemed more necessary, than it was heretofore. They observed, that their compliance therewith is founded on an estimate, which appears to be of a very extraordinary nature, with regard to the great number of servants said to be necessary in the field; to the alledged dearth of provisions, which the directors have reason to believe is greater on the coast of Coromandel than in Bengal; and also to the unprecedented article of wearing apparel. They further remarked, that notwithstanding they rate their field expences at 313 Arcot rupees per month, yet by the general list of batta, inserted by the precedency, among their military regulations of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, it appears, that they had even exceeded this estimate, by allowing each captain twelve Arcot rupees per day for his common field expences, and they alledged, that his Majesty's troops will necessarily expect the same indulgence, and the company's troops, at their other settlements, will think themselves equally entitled thereto; that by the account in the consultation of the twenty-fifth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, the batta, or officers only, on the establishment at Bengal, amounted to current rupees

209: 134: 4: in this year, to November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty, which, together with the great additional sum for the allowance of one Arcot rupee per day to three private men, was an expence which ought not, without the most absolute necessity, to have been complied with to such an unreasonable extent; and that these considerations should have influenced the precedence, so far as not to have supported the rank of the officers, so much to the prejudice of the company; more especially at a time when such great losses and charges were incurred by the war. They added, that they could not admit the arguments of the officers, advanced in their letter of the twenty-first of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, in support of their demands, to be of sufficient force; for that though they (the directors) were desirous to answer their original with the military gentlemen, and to grant them encouragement suitable to their merit; yet it could not be justly expected, that they should be enabled to raise such fortunes as might lead them to quit the service in a short space of time; an inconveniency which of late had happened: that they approved of the steps taken for reducing the expences of draft cattle, victualling the troops, and furnishing the boats; but expressed their regret to have found, by their letter, twenty-first of January, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, that the whole cannot be carried into execution by contract; relying, however, upon the precedence to act therein as they should think most conducive to the interest of the company.

And the committee find, by a general letter from Fort William, fourteenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, that the president

dent and council represented, that they had made what reduction they could in the article of batta, and other contingent charges; and that they had lately appointed a special council to be held, with the assistance of major Adams, and major Carnac, for taking this essential branch under consideration, and making what further reduction may seem possible.

And the committee find, That the court of directors, in their general letter of June the first, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, replied, That they had given their sentiments so fully upon the exorbitant military expences of the presidency, in their letter of the ninth of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, that they had now only most positively to enforce the orders therein given, for their taking every opportunity to reduce them within the most frugal bounds the general good of the service would admit of; but that, with respect of the double batta, however, they positively ordered, that, immediately upon receipt of their letter, half of it should be struck off; that is to say, all their military were to have single batta only, in the same manner as it was allowed at the presidency at Fort St. George; and that they earnestly recommended, that even the single batta should be reduced, whenever circumstances would admit of it: that as the sum of six thousand pounds a year was to be allowed lord Clive, as president and governor, they did not mean that this sum was to include his extraordinary expences, in case his lordship should at any time be under the necessity of taking the field; and that they directed, that all such expences should be borne by the company, and paid his lordship out of their cash at Bengal;

in which business they recommended all the frugality that was consistent with the service.

And the committee find, that the president and council at Fort William, in their consultation of the twenty-fifth of January, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, determined, that as the batta to the army was thought proper and necessary, on account of their being engaged in actual service of much consequence, the deduction thereof should be referred for the present, at least till the arrival of lord Clive, and the other members, with the expected field officers; and added, that they hoped, by the example and support of these latter, to meet with less difficulty in this undertaking.

And the committee find, that the select committee at Fort William, of the thirtieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, acquainted the directors, that they had already issued their orders for striking off half the double batta, and should, in a very few days, put their force entirely on a footing with the troops on the coast of Coromandel, which would be reducing the military expences of the presidency as low as they could bear, consistently with the interest of the company, and the good of the service.

And the committee find, that the select committee at Fort William, in their letter of March the twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, represented, that the directors were already advised, that their orders respecting the reduction of the batta took place on the first day of that year; that this measure had produced some murmurings and complaints among the subalterns, and even a memorial to the council from

the

the officers of the first brigade: that the presidency, however, conscious of the necessity of reducing the military expences, were determined to see these orders strictly obeyed, though, at the same time, they must confess, that, until the charges incurred on account of servants, horses, and the necessary equipage of the field in this climate, were distinguished by some public regulation, the allowance of a subaltern would scarcely maintain him in the station of a gentleman.

And the committee find, that the directors, in their general letter of March the fourth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, approved very much the firmness of the presidency in reducing the batta, and declared, that they trusted to their prudence to regulate it in such a manner, as, on one hand, to give no just ground for murmuring, and on the other, strenuously to maintain what they thought it their duty to conform to; that they expected to be informed, if the officers of the first brigade had proceeded farther than presenting their memorial, and that they should in the most exact manner be acquainted, if any of them had distinguished themselves, by an opposition to the order of the presidency.

And the committee find, by a general letter of the seventeenth of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, to the select committee at Fort William, that the directors expressed the real pleasure with which they observed the good effect of regimenting their troops, by a beginning of discipline, subordination, and œconomy, and that they flattered themselves, that the presidency had succeeded in their endeavours for reducing their

their heavy military expences, and in particular for striking off half the double batta, to put them upon the same footing as Fort St. George.

And the committee examined Henry Strachey, Esquire, with regard to certain measures taken, in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, for the purpose of reducing the batta allowed to the troops in Bengal, and with regard to the consequences of those measures, and he produced to the committee a narrative of those transactions.

The committee now proceed to lay before the house what has occurred to them material upon the subject of extraordinary contingent expences.

And they find, that the president and council, in their general letter from Bengal of November the twelfth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, informed the court of directors, that having received from the president and council at Fort St. George, a copy of their orders of the the fourteenth of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, which directed colonel Cook's field expences to be paid out of the cash of Bengal; they accordingly communicated the same to the colonel, who informed them that the amount of his charges during the fifteen months which he commanded the army on the coast, was Arcot rupees 60,000; and the president and council observed, that although this sum being brought together may appear large, yet, for the reasons -

reasons mentioned in the said letter, they were of opinion, that his table could not have been kept for less, and therefore directed the same to be immediately discharged.

And the committee find, by a minute of the select committee at Fort William, of October the twenty-fifth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, that lord Clive being arrived, the committee took into consideration the company's orders to reduce the enormous military charges of the presidency, and came to the following resolutions, viz.

To write to the colonels of the several brigades, requiring them to give notice to all the officers under their command, that in future they are to depend wholly upon their pay and batta, without any expectation from perquisites of any kind or denomination.

That, after the first of January next, the whole batta will be struck off from all the troops stationed in cantonments within the provinces, and their pay reduced precisely to the allowance made to the company's forces on the Coromandel coasts; excepting,

That, in consideration of the unavoidable expences of transporting liquors, and other necessaries, to great distances from the presidency, those stationed at Patna and Mongheer should be allowed half batta; which allowance they were not to regard as a right, but as an indulgence, to stand in lieu of the usual consideration of boats, &c.

That, a farther encouragement of the company's troops, and to remove all difficulties arising from the scarcity of Arcot rupces, their pay should

should in future be issued in Surat rupees : And further,

That if at any time the troops should be employed beyond the limits of the provinces, such addition should be made to their batta, as might be thought reasonable.

That for the better maintaining the dignity of the colonels of brigades, and enabling them to support the expence of a public table in the field, and for other officers, an additional allowance should be made them of forty rupees per diem, which allowance was to be enjoyed by the field officers who should command the brigade for the time being.

That field officers, commanding a detachment, should have the same batta as their next superior ; which indulgence was not to extend lower than the rank of a major.

That the commanders of brigades should be acquainted with the presidency's having appointed paymasters to each brigade ; and directed, that in future the pay not only of the officers and soldiers, but of coolies, and all other persons employed by the company on account of the army, should be issued by the paymasters, together with all disbursements and contingent charges.

That the commissary should be ordered to muster all persons, military and others, who received the company's pay, at the close of every month, or as near as the service would admit.

That no bills of any kind should be paid, until they were duly countersigned by the commanding officer.

And the committee find, that the select committee

mittee agreed to transmit these resolutions to the commanders of the several brigades, enjoining their strict obedience, and requiring them to notify the same to the officers of the different corps.

And the committee find, by a general letter of the court of directors, of December the twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, that they by no means approved of the allowance of 4,000 rupees per month, for the field expences for the commander in chief, and that they alledged, that the example made to colonel Coote (which the presidency had followed) never had met with their approbation ; and they directed the president and council to conform, as near as possible, to the Fort St. George establishment ; which was, for the table and other field expences of the commander in chief, during his being in the field, 10 pagodas per diem, and from 25 to 30 coolies for his baggage ; but they added, that they did not mean to limit this expence when lord Clive took the field as commander in chief, having ordered in general terms, that his lordship was to be allowed his field expences.

And the committee find, that the select committee at Fort William, in a letter of the nineteenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, represented, that in times of profound peace, when the troops lose the advantage they enjoy in the field, and are reduced in cantonments to half batta, and in garrison to their mere pay, it was scarce possible that the subaltern officers could subsist, and maintain the appearance which they ought, of gentlemen ; that the presidency would try every possible means to reduce

the expences, and to lower the wages and number of servants ; but that abuses had prevailed so long, and established themselves so firmly, that time and rigour would be required to remove them ; that colonel Smith had already made great progress in the reformation of his military establishment, and that they were persuaded, that the same activity which had been exerted in reducing the army to discipline and obedience, would be continued in order to influence the officers to prudence and economy.

Extract of a letter from colonel Richard Smith, to the governor and council at Bengal, dated Sept. 10, 1766.

Agreeable to your orders, I sent you an account of my expences. I own, I feel myself rather hurt, that you should think it possible for me to make any unreasonable charges. What extra expences has been incurred falls not on the company ; the stipulation with the king being thirty thousand rupees per month ; and the company's extra charges upon a medium, did not amount to twenty-four thousand rupees per month.

The honourable company	Dr.
To batta, colonel commanding	
the army of observation, from	
the 4th of May, 1765, to the	
31st of July, 1765, being 89	
days, at 75 rupees per day	- 6,675

Pay

Pay of hiercarrahs in these three months	360
Batta and presents to several efforts on the rout from Calcutta to Banaras	430
	<hr/>
	7,465
To expences during my command, from the 1st of August, 1765, to the 1st of August, 1766, at a medium, amounting to 4,700 rupees per month	56,400
To a horse, died on service at Suragapoor camp, which cost me	1,200
To extraordinary expences incurred during my command at Allahabad and Patna, viz.	
Paid the company for broad cloth and velvet, presented to the king and Rohilla chiefs, as by invoice transmitted to me by Mr. Sumner	1,786
Paid Mr. Moodie for looking glasses, trinkets, and toys, presented to the king	2,000
Nogaranahs for myself and public officers on public days	1,200
Presents to the nabob Shujah Dowlah, and his sons	780
Ditto the nabob Ashey Rhamet Cawn, the Rohillah chief	1,820
	Ditto

Ditto to nabob Jnait Cawn, his son	979
Ditto to Mahomed Rajah Cawn, naib of the provinces	1,840
Expence of the Maratta negotiation, and present to Moncah al Dowlah Beni Behadu Nudjif Cawn, &c. &c.	2,046

12,442

Head Quarters, at
Myr Abseelo. S. rupces 77,507
Sept. 10, 1766. (Signed)
Richard Smith.

Extract of the company's general letter to Bengal, dated the twentieth of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

The commission 114. Being satisfied how granted upon much our trade and possessions may be affected by the the Dewannee good service of the company's military officers, therefore the better to encourage them to exert themselves in the preservation of these great objects, we have thought proper to allow them to share in the following manner, viz.

Shares.

The commander in chief (as such only, he not being to have a share as member of the select committee or council) to have 7½ Co.

Colonels each	-	-	-	-	2½
Lieutenant colonels each	-	-	-	-	1½
Majors each	-	-	-	-	¾

115. The ample provision here assigned to the commander in chief, assures him of an honourable competency ; and we expect colonel Smith, and his successors in the command, shall continue to shew an unremitting attention to their duty, and the preventing all frauds and abuses in the expences of the army.

116. The allowances made to the rest of the field officers, are such as put our service on a more advantageous footing than any other military service in the world, and gives them the prospect of improving their fortunes by a gradual progression.

117. After all the allowances are made to the company's principal civil and military servants, as before directed, a considerable proportion of the two and one-half per cent. commission will remain unappropriated ; in order therefore to encourage the rest of the company's military officers, and to remove every complaint of reduction of double batta, we have thought proper to make them, over and above their present established pay, the following allowances by way of donation or gratuity only, and which are to be paid them accordingly, viz. to a captain three shillings a day, to a lieutenant two shillings a day, to an ensign one shilling a day.

But we must here observe to you, and accordingly direct, that neither a colonel, lieutenant colonel, or major, is to be allowed the
three

three shillings a day, as captain of a company; the shares we have allotted them in the produce the two and a half per cent. upon the revenues, being in full for our donation or gratuity, as well for their being captains as field officers. And here it is proper to inform you, that it is our positive orders, that the double batta be never restored to any of our officers whatsoever.

Extract from the Company's general Letter to Bengal, dated 16th March, 1768.

“ As the company's extensive and rich possessions in India, cannot be secured but by a large body of well regulated troops, we have consulted lord Clive, general, Lawrence, Caillaud, and Carnac, and other military gentlemen, on this important subject; and have thereupon found it necessary to make some alterations in the present military establishments, at the several presidencies; at your's, in particular, where the company have so much at stake, it is highly expedient to encrease the number of Europeans, and to have them commanded by a larger proportion of field and other officers. Upon this idea, we have thought proper to adopt the following plan for the military establishment in Bengal, which you are to carry into execution accordingly, as soon as you can. We send you this season for Fort St. George and Bengal, about one thousand seven hundred recruits, as you have been already advised, about one thousand two hundred whereof are intended for you; and we give the necessary directions to the president and council of the first-named place accordingly. We also send you several officers, as hereafter mentioned; and it

is our intention to supply you with such a number of recruits annually, as will keep the several corps compleat.

Instead thereof, of the establishment as it now stands, the following is to be substituted and adopted, viz.

It is to consist of three regiments; each regiment to be divided into two battallions; each battallion to be composed of seven companies, and one granadier company; each of the said seven companies to consist of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four serjeants, four corporals; two drummers, and fifty-five private men; and the grenadiers company to consist of a captain, three lieutenants, five serjeants, five corporals, three drummers, and sixty-seven private men.

The field officers are to be, a colonel to each of the three regiments, and a lieutenant-colonel and major to each battallion.

According to the said establishment, the three regiments there, are to be composed of three colonels, six lieutenants-colonels, six majors, makes fifteen, forty-eight captains, sixty lieutenants, forty-two ensigns, makes one hundred and fifty; one hundred and ninety-eight serjeants, one hundred and ninety-eight corporals, one hundred and two drummers, makes two hundred and ninety-eight private men, two thousand five hundred and two; in all, three thousand one hundred and sixty-five.

That the several battallions may be compleatly officered, agreeable to our intentions expressed in the seventy-ninth paragraph, the custom of the field officers having the command of companies, is hereby required to be set aside; consequently they
not

are not to be entitled to pay as captains of companies, or advantages arising therefrom by cloathing, or any other emoluments whatsoever. However, this pay of field officers, as such, not being sufficient to support them in a manner suitable to their rank, we do agree, and accordingly direct, that they be allowed an addition of ten shillings a day, viz. colonel as field officer, fifteen shillings.

	£.	s.	d.
Addition as before, ten shillings, makes	1	5	0
A lieutenant-colonel as field officer	0	10	0
Addition as above	0	10	0
	1	0	0
A major as field officer	0	5	0
Addition as above	0	10	0
	0	15	0

The allowances severally allotted to them out of the revenues, as directed in our general letter of the twentieth November last, in addition to the above-mentioned ones, we consider as a very ample compensation for every former advantage arising to field officers as captains of companies.

As much depends upon a well-regulated corps of artillery, and in order to give all fitting encouragement to the officers of such corps, it is to be formed into a battalion, consisting of four companies, each company to be composed of one captain, one captain-lieutenant, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, three lieutenant-fireworkers, seven sergeants, six corporals, two drummers, two fifers,

ten

ten bombardiers, twenty gunners; in all, forty-six; fifty-eight matrosses; in all, 104; total 111.

The field officers to the said corps, are to be a lieutenant-colonel, and a major; according to which disposition, the battalions of artillery is to be composed of, viz.

One lieutenant-colonel, one major, two captains, four captain-lieutenants, four first lieutenants, four second lieutenants, twelve lieutenants-fireworkers, twenty-eight, twenty-four serjeants, twenty-four corporals, eight drummers, and eight sifers, forty bombardiers, eighty gunners, 184, 232 matrosses; total, 446.

The several officers, and others belonging to the corps of artillery, are to be always kept therein, and not removed into any other corps, as without such a restriction the service would be liable to many inconveniencies. By way of encouragement, therefore, we have adopted the plan, as before-mentioned, of having field officers therein as high as a lieutenant-colonel, to give them rank in the army, beyond which they are not at any time intitled to raise.

The said field officers, viz. the lieutenant-colonel, and major, are to be on the footing of those of the same rank of the infantry, as to not having companies, and being allowed shares in the revenues, according to their rank, in addition to their pay as field officers, as mentioned in the eighty-second and eighty-third paragraphs.

With respect to the other officers of this corps, they are to have, in addition to their usual pay, by way of donation or gratuity, the allowances mentioned in our letter of the twentieth of Novem-

ber last, and upon the same conditions; that is to say, a captain three shillings a day, as captain-lieutenant, two shillings and sixpence a day, a lieutenant two shillings, and lieutenant-fireworker one shilling; and their rank, with respect to the rest of our forces, is to be as captains, lieutenants, and the lieutenant-fireworkers as ensigns,

To give all fitting encouragement likewise to the corps of engineers, and to put it as nearly on a footing with our others, in point of rank and emoluments, as the nature of the service consistently will admit of, we have thought proper to adopt the following plan; and we accordingly direct, that the said corps be composed of a chief engineer, to take rank as lieutenant-colonel, a director ditto as major, three sub-directors ditto, as captains, two sub-engineers ditto, as lieutenants, two practitioner engineers, ditto ensigns.

The number of these last-named classes may be increased, as the nature of the service may require; from among such of the lieutenant-fireworkers, and cadets, as shall be properly qualified for such stations.

The persons who shall fill the said several stations, are to remain in the corps of engineers, and are not to be removed into any other; advancing, however, therein according to their standing, as far as the ranks of lieutenant-colonel, but no higher.

The chief engineer is to be allowed the pay of lieutenant-colonel, as settled for officers in that rank in the eighty-second paragraph of this letter, viz. 20 shillings a day, which, with a proportionate share of the revenues, upon the terms and conditions mentioned

mentioned with respect to the officers of the same rank, and settled in our letter of the twentieth November last, are to be in full consideration both for his station as chief engineer, and his rank as lieutenant-colonel.

The director being the next officer, is to be allowed the pay of a major, likewise settled for officers in that rank in the eighty second paragraph of this letter, viz. Fifteen shillings a day, which with a proportionable share of the revenues, upon the terms and conditions before-mentioned and settled in the letter of the twentieth November last, are to be in full consideration both for his station as director, or assistant engineer, and his rank of major.

The other members of the said corps are to have an additional pay by way of gratuity or donations, in the same manner as the rest of our military officers; that is to say, those in the rank of captains three shillings a day, lieutenant two shillings, and ensigns one shilling.

As we are now regulating our military system at Bombay, upon a plan something similar with that at our presidencies. Lieutenant Colonel Pemble, who belongs to the Bombay establishment, is therefore to proceed thither accordingly, if he is not already gone, agreeable to the orders of our letters of the twenty fourth December, one thousand seven hundred and sixty five, and twenty sixth of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty six; having appointed him colonel and commander in chief, under the president and council, of all the company's forces at that presidency.

By the alterations we have now ordered, with respect to the military system at your presidency,

more field officers are wanting, likewise good and experienced officers below these ranks. We therefore lend out this season three lieutenant colonels, three majors, and the several captains and lieutenants here under-mentioned, viz.

Lieutenant Colonels; Charles Champion, George Sampill, Matthew Leslie. Majors; William English, John Morrison, William Blair. Captains; William Popham, William Crosby, Alexander Ross, John Burrington, Benjamin Ashe, William Thomson, James Freeman, William Peake, Joseph William Crabb, Benjamine Wroe, Timothy Edwards, Christopher Hotsfall. Captain Lieutenant; Roger Hogg. Lieutenants; William Law, William Wilson, John Scott, Michael Bruce, Walter Bruland, Martin Gilpin, Richard Lucas, John Dupont, Walter Maynard, Henry Atkinson, Thomas Scot, Robert M'Nabb, Thomas Cavioll, Ruffel Arder, Anthony Hartle, Alexander Munro, James Gould.

In order to settle the rank of the several before-mentioned officers, we must previously inform you, that it is our pleasure and orders, that Richard Smith, esquire, Sir Robert Barker, and Joseph Peat, esquire, now in Bengal, be the colonels of the three regiments of infantry, Charles Chapman, Hugh Grant, and William Smith, esquires, be lieutenant colonels of three of the six battalions.

Observing by the general list of the army in the company's service in Bengal, transmitted to us by the Britannia, and which is the last received, the following gentlemen stand thereon in the rank of majors, without distinguishing whether they belong,

long to the` regiments of infantry or the seapoy battalions, viz. Giles Stibbart, William Smith, Primrose Galliez, Gilbert Ironside, James Morgan, Anthony Polior, and Christian Fisher.

But as only three of the said majors could, according to our late establishment, belong to three regiments of infantry, one of whom, viz. William Smith, is advanced, as above directed, to be a lieutenant colonel, the other must of course belong to the seapoys; we conclude, therefore, that three of the said gentlemen will be in possession of commissions as majors of infantry at the time this letter comes to your hands; and if you judge them deserving, are to continue as such.

Here we must however inform you, it is our pleasure and directions, that Giles Stibbert, James Morgan, Anthony Polier, Christian Fischer, and Douglass Hill, are not at any time to rise to an higher rank in the service than majors; the said limitation with respect to majors Polier and Fischer, is on account of their being foreigners, agreeable to the general rule laid down in our letter, under date the nineteenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.

Since our before-mentioned appointment, lieutenant colonel Charles Champion has obtained our leave to remain in England another season, for the recovery of his health, which however is to be no prejudice in point of rank when he shall arrive in Bengal; only the following gentlemen then at present proceed to their stations, who are, upon their arrival, to be lieutenant colonels of two of the six battalions, in the order they are here named, viz. George Sempell and Matthew Leslie;



lie ; the vacancy of one of the battalions, occasioned by lieutenant colonel Champion's not proceeding this season, you are hereby authorised to fill up with a proper person, in the rank of lieutenant colonel, next below lieutenant colonel Leslie.

And the majors, William English, John Morrison, and William Blair, are in like manner to be majors of the three battalions.

Lieutenant colonel Sempell is to rank next below the youngest lieutenant colonel in the commission, when this letter comes to hand, and lieutenant colonel Leslie next below Sempell.

Major English's rank is to be next below the youngest major in commission, on the receipt of this letter ; and the majors Morrison and Blair, in the order they are named, next below English.

The captains and lieutenants are to take rank next one another in the order they are arranged in the ninety-sixth paragraph in this letter ; and on their arrival in Bengal, they are to rank, with respect to the other officers in the company's service who shall be in commission when you receive this letter, in the following order, that is to say, the first captain proceeding from hence is to rank next below the youngest captain in commission as above mentioned, and the others are to follow in the order they are named ; the same method is to be observed in the ranking the lieutenants under the youngest lieutenant in commission.

The said captains and lieutenants are to succeed in the order we have named them, as vacancies happen in the regiments ; in the mean time, they are to be allowed the usual pay, as captains and lieutenants.

lieutenants, and are to be employed in the seapoy battalions, or otherwise, agreeable to their respective ranks, as you shall judge most conducive to the good of the service.

With respect to the corps of artillery, as we have now planned it into a battalion, Fleming Martin, now in Bengal, is to have the command as lieutenant colonel, and Thomas Deane Pearce, now proceeding from hence, is hereby appointed major thereof.

We have also appointed David Rosatt, and James Barnett, to be captains of artillery, and they are accordingly to fill such vacancies as shall be therein upon their arrival, or shall happen next after their arrival; and they are to rank as they are here named, next under the last captain in commission, upon their arriving in Bengal.

The several officers now in Bengal are to be continued in the corps, and are to be advanced therein according to their respective ranks, if you find them deserving; but there are two captain lieutenants, viz. Patrick Duff, and Isaac Warren, who may be of use in those stations, but not to advance farther: it is our pleasure that they do not rise higher.

As it will be greatly for the benefit of the service to have as many young gentlemen, well qualified in the artillery and engineering branches of education, to be added to the artillery corps, we have accordingly entertained the persons here under mentioned; who are, upon their arrival, to be lieutenant fireworkers in the several companies; the first of whom is to take rank next below the
youngest

youngest of the same rank, who shall be on your list upon the receipt of these advices, viz.

James Mayaffree, Thomas Nepean, James Cockburn, Francis Moore, Thomas Harris, James Irwin, Justly Hill, George Sampson, Thomas Cooper Everitt, Charles Fitzgerald, John Insley, George Dear, Robert Dawes.

Having regulated the corps of engineers in the manner before mentioned, we have appointed Archibald Campbell to be chief engineer, and rank as lieutenant colonel; and James Lilliman to be director, and rank as major in that corps.

We have directed lieutenant colonel Campbell to proceed first to Bombay, to execute such directions as we shall give, in regard to the works carried on under that presidency; which service being executed, Mr. Campbell will then go on to Bengal, where he is to remain, and complete the works under your directions.

Lieutenant colonel Campbell's pay and share of the revenues before mentioned, is to commence from his first arrival at Bombay: but as the amount can only be ascertained at Bengal, if Mr. Campbell should apply for any advances on account of what may become due to him during his continuance at Bombay for the fore-mentioned purposes, we shall direct our said presidency to supply him with such sums as he may request, for defraying his expences while he remains there; for which they are to take his bond or bonds, which are to be forwarded to you, and to be recovered out of the first money that shall become due to him.

Colo-

Colonel Campbell having no separate instructions or powers from us, as engineer, he is to act under your direction: you are therefore to give him the necessary orders from time to time, and furnish him with copies of such parts of our letter, and your own proceedings, as may be most useful to him, and of whatever else may be necessary and material for his information; in doing which you will always keep in view the conducting the works with the utmost diligence, œconomy, and frugality, so frequently recommended to your care and attention.

He is to lay before you, from time to time, the progress made in the several works carried on under his direction; which is to be transmitted to us as often as conveyances offer; and at the same time, you are to give us your opinion thereupon.

That the several officers now proceeding to Bengal, may be fully informed upon what terms they are entertained, and thereby to take away all pretences for altercations on account of rank, or otherwise, upon their arrival, previous to their taking the usual oath, to be true and faithful to the company in their several stations, they were each of them shewn a paper by your secretary, to which they declared their assent and agreement; of which the following is a copy, viz.

That all such as are, or have been in his majesty's service, are to take rank of one another in their arrangement here, and according to the dates of their respective commissions, that is to say,

The lieutenant colonels are to rank with each other of the same class, as lieutenant colonels.

The majors, in like manner, as majors,

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B b b

The

The captains, in like manner, as captains.

The lieutenants, in like manner, as lieutenants.

That on their arrival in India, they are to rank next to the lowest of the same class there, in the order they are named from hence, viz. the first person of each class upon the list here is to take rank under the last officer of the company's of the same denomination, who shall be in commission on their arrival in India.

That it is to be observed however, that such officers belonging to the company, who have leave to return to their service, are to take rank agreeable to the last commissions given them in India, in the same manner, as if they had continued there.

That they are not only to obey their superior officers according to the rules and discipline of war, but are to be entirely subject to the orders of the governor and council at each presidency, who are the company's legal representatives; as likewise, to such orders as they may receive from any of the company's civil servants, at their several subordinate settlements, to whom the governor and council shall think fit to delegate such authority.

That as they are entirely subject to the authority of the company's civil representatives, so the governor and council, upon the misbehaviour of any officer, may, whenever they think fit, take away such officers commission without bringing him before a court martial, according to the general practice of the service.

If

If it shall happen that the recruits going out this season will more than complete the several corps, according to the present establishment, you are, in such case, to cause them to be equally divided among the said corps.

Having thus in general settled the outlines of the military establishment of Bengal, you are strictly to conform thereto. We are sensible there are many regulations necessary for effectually carrying the same into execution; we therefore recommend it to you, to settle as soon after the receipt of this as possible; and in order to assist you therein, we now send you the printed military code or plan given out at Madras in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, for the troops on the coast of Coromandel, which, allowing for the difference of the service at the two presidencies, may be adapted to the situation and particular circumstances of the troops employed in Bengal, varying the rules, orders, and regulations accordingly. Such a code can only be drawn out upon the spot; we direct, therefore, that you form one as soon as you can, and transmit it to us for our information and further directions; and here we are to observe, that it is not by multiplying orders and regulations that a military system can improve, but by a strict attention, that the orders given, are observed and obeyed.

You are not only to transmit us a copy of such a code annually, but you are likewise to transmit copies to other presidencies, who are to do the same with respect to you. This mutual communication, will, if duly attended to, be productive
of

of a similarity of systems throughout our whole possessions.

In consequence of the considerable increase of our European infantry, we recommend a proportionable decrease of the seapoys; and we think that reduction should not be less than three thousand from the brigade seapoys. We do not positively order it, but depend on your discretion to do it when time and circumstance will admit; neither shall we prescribe how it shall be carried into execution, leaving it to you either to reduce the provincial seapoys, and incorporate the three thousand to be reduced from the army seapoys into the provincial corps: nevertheless, keeping up the distinction due to the brigade seapoys, by putting them on more soldier-like service than that of collecting the revenues.—When this reduction shall be made, we still think a standing force of three regiments, and the artillery battalion, and fifteen thousand seapoys, is far superior to any country force that can be brought against the provinces, and the lessening the proportion between the Europeans and seapoys is adding to our safety.

With respect to the said corps of seapoys, we cannot here form a perfect judgment of the number requisite, as that must depend on the circumstances and situation of affairs, as before observed; and the forming them must be left to your discretion, observing that this establishment, must in all its parts, be calculated to enforce order, discipline, and subordination, for on this we must depend, and by this we are to hope to maintain our superiority, and give security to our system of government.

ment. These good purposes will be best answered by your paying them regularly, using them with humanity, and giving the battalions as many European commission and non-commissioned officers as the service can afford ; and lord Clive informed us, that as the seapoys are separated and divided into three brigades, the danger of their holding cabals of any alarming nature is in a great measure avoided ; to which his lordship adds, that the best additional security he can think of, is to have each battalion composed of an equal number of Gentoos and Musselmén, and to encourage a rivalry of discipline between them ; all which we recommend to your attention.

The reasons assigned for entertaining eight independent battalions of seapoys for the collection of the revenues, to wit : that this measure will tend to the encrease of the revenue by the reduction of the provincial troops and expences, is our only motive for approving it ; but we expect to see that effect evidently appear in your future accounts in the reduction of the mongees collections.

It is very extraordinary that we cannot, in your consultations, or the select committee's proceedings, trace the progress of the vast encrease in the seapoy battalions ; the order for raising new battalions never appeared in your deliberations ; so that, although we find by your return received per Mercury, we had no less than thirty battalions in our service, including the eight mentioned in the preceding paragraph, yet so important a measure never appears to have been the subject of a regular deliberation. We cannot account for this neglect, but by supposing, that the military regulations have
flowed

flown from the government authority, in virtue of his being commander in chief; but this by no means justified you, in our opinion; the increase or decrease of the army ought never to take place without mature deliberation, and reasons regularly assigned on the face of your proceedings.

We are surprised at the account colonel Smith gives of his expences, as mentioned in consultation the twelfth of August, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, and apprehended, so great an expence must arise from mistaken notions of a necessity of imitating the grandees, and ostentation of the eastern princes, which is by no means our wish and intention, being persuaded European plainness and simplicity will create more awe and respect than any imitation of their manners: nevertheless, we do not mean that such expence as shall be thought necessary for the support of dignity, or for presents to the eastern grandees, should be flung on the commander in chief; the council on the select committee, will judge of the propriety of such charges, and act accordingly.

Extract of the company's general letter to Bengal,
dated 17th of March, 1769.

“ In our letter of the eleventh of November last, we intimated our apprehensions, that the great difference between the batta allowed your troops, and those belonging to Fort St. George, acting in the Decan, would create dissensions very detrimental to the service; by the advices from Madras, it appears that there was likewise a great inequality between them, with respect to diet, your troops being

being allowed two pounds of meat a day, and those of Fort St. George but one pound ; the effects of this disparity were, the Bengal grew mutinous, on the reduction of their batta, whilst those of Fort St. George did the same, on account of the disparity betwixt their allowances and those of the Bengal forces.

We expect our three principal presidencies to co-operate in forming some plan that may prevent this in future ; in which, due consideration must be had to the rate of provisions in the several countries where they may act ; and we hope, by a communication of sentiments to each other, this great evil may be prevented, and the props of the several presidencies be brought to act jointly, whenever it may be needful, with that harmony which the general welfare of the company requires.

The double posts held by the Bengal officers seem likewise to have created great jealousies : those who must be discussed : for we must not suffer such trifling considerations to come in competition with the succours that must be mutually afforded by the several presidencies, for the general preservation of the whole.

It being our firm intention to abide by the military establishment, settled last season, for your presidency ; we therefore direct, that, if at any time the forces in Bengal shall exceed that settlement, you do not, on any pretence, form the surplus into new corps, or companies, in order to provide for any supernumerary officers you may have ; but that you dispose of the extraordinary number by attaching them to the several companies upon the present establishment ; for we absolutely

will

will not allow of your exceeding it, without our express permission first obtained for that purpose."

Fort William, the 18th August, 1769.
At a select committee, present, the honourable
Harry Verelst, Esq; president and governor, &c,

"The committee proceed to take into consideration the orders of the court of directors for a reduction in the brigade seapoy.

Although they are desirous of embracing every proper opportunity to curtail the heavy expence of the military establishment; yet they judge, that a reform in the corps of brigade would be an improper measure; since it would prove so great a reduction of our military strength, which, and which only, preserves the tranquility of these provinces. But upon a due consideration of the present state of affairs, and considering also that the troops are now drawn into a more compact body, the committee are unanimously of opinion, that they may adopt an economical system, perhaps more acceptable to the court of directors than a literal obedience to their orders, and have accordingly agreed to recommend the following reductions to the consideration of the president and council.

That the twenty-eighth battalion of purgunnah seapoys, stationed at the city of Murshadabad, shall be reformed.

That the thirtieth battalion of purgunnah seapoys, stationed at Calcutra, shall be reformed.

That the thirty-first battalion of purgunnah seapoys, stationed at Patna, shall be reformed; and,

as the three battalions of the first brigade are now on their march for Calcutta from the east. And by the last return it appears, that they will require at least seven hundred men to complete, the committee think, that the thirty-second battalion of seapoys, which was raised when the first brigade embarked for the coast, should be reformed; but that the private men which compose that battalion should be incorporated in the first brigade; and that no impediment may arise to the collection of the revenues, by the disbanding of the purgannah battalions, it is proposed, that the resident at the Durbar shall be assisted from that brigade cantoned at Barrumpoor, with seapoys, for the duty of the city only, as far as a complete battalion.

That the supervisor of the collections of Bahar shall be assisted from that brigade cantoned at the Bankipore, or Dinapore, with seapoys, for the duty of the city of Patna only, as far as one complete battalion; and that the collector of revenues at Burdwan shall be reinforced from the brigade seapoys stationed at Calcutta, whenever the service should require a reinforcement; and in order effectually to prevent the least degree of relaxation in the discipline of those brigade seapoys, which may, from time to time, be employed on duty at the cities of Muxadabad and Patna, the brigade seapoys should not, on any account, be employed in the collection of the revenues; and, moreover, that they should be relieved every fortnight. This the committee recommended to be observed as a standing order. It is further proposed, that the native seapoy officers of those battalions which are to be reformed, shall be disposed

of as follows : The Purgunnah officers to be enrolled as supernumeraries in the Perguannah battalions; and that the officers of the thirty-second battalion be enrolled with the brigade battalions; and that no preferment of native seapoy officers shall be made whilst these continue a supernumary officer beyond the establishment.

The committee then proceeded to take into consideration the state of the brigade troops, whilst doing duty at the presidency, particularly with respect to the seapoys, who, with very great reluctance, have left their native countries to follow their standards to Fort William; for great are the apprehensions of which the natives of Bahar, and the more western provinces, entertain of the effects of the air and water in Calcutta, and its independencies; and it can be only a course of experience which will convince the native troops from what has of late occurred, that by marching down to Calcutta, they are not intended to be sent on shipboard. This very idea, and some false reports of embarkation, caused a very considerable desertion in the second and third brigades, notwithstanding the general's positive assurances to them, that no such measures was thought of, or intended. Add to these agrievments, the present excessive price of provisions in Calcutta, grain being almost double the price to what it bears at any other station of the army. And having debated on these points very maturely, with a view of causing a further reduction in the military expence, the cantonment allowance, which the seapoys have received for many years, at every station of the army, was proposed to be curtailed, whilst
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any part of the brigade troops should be doing duty in Fort William; but it was adjudged by no means an eligible measure, to disgust so fine a body of men as now compose the brigade battalions; that the saving was not an object to put in competition with the consequences to be apprehended; that it was our duty so to treat the seapoys, that whenever the defence of our settlements should oblige us to call them down to the presidency, they should march with chearfulness and alacrity; that it would be an unjustifiable hardship on the seapoys, if we ordered them from their native countries, where they enjoyed cantonment allowance, and where provisions were sold at a very cheap rate, to bring them to Calcutta, where provisions were very dear, and then to abolish the cantonment allowance; and as the reform of four battalions of Purgunnah, and additional seapoys, makes it requisite that part of the brigade seapoys should garrison the cities of Muxadabad and Patna, we ought not to adopt any measures that would not only inevitably occasion a great desertion among the seapoys, but would probably create a dissatisfaction to the service.

It is therefore proposed, for the reasons assigned, that the cantonment allowance shall be continued to the seapoys, whilst they were on the Calcutta duty; and as it would be highly improper to make any distinctions to the disadvantage of the European troops, the committee are of opinion, that cantonment allowance should also be continued to them.

Fort

Fort William, 22d August, 1769.

At a Consultation, present,

The Hon. Henry Verelst, Esq; President, &c.

As the regulations formed by the select committee, for the Purgunnah seapoys corps, have not been strictly attended to as they ought, and as the board are of opinion, that some additions to these regulations is requisite,

Agreed and resolved, That we now enforce them, and that in future the regulations to be observed by this corps shall be,

That the Purgunnah seapoys at Patna, Murshadabad, Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, shall receive their full pay, without any deduction whatever.

That they shall not receive any batta.

That the company shall be at the expence of their cloathing.

That the officers shall receive off reckonings until the first of September next; but from that time they shall not be allowed to draw for any more, nor shall they be entitled to any after that period.

Agreed also, That the cloathing for the Purgunnah seapoys be made up at the presidency; that we direct the gentlemen of the different subordinates to apply to us for it at the commencement of the new year; and that we acquaint them respectively of this addition to the former regulations, and acquaint them, we expect in future the strictest attention will be paid to every part of them.

Extract

Extract from the Company's general Letter to
Bengal, dated 17th January, 1770.

In consideration of the rank major-general Coote holds by his Majesty's commission, and in order to place him on the footing of allowances superior to the present commanding officers in India, without incurring a more considerable charge, than by the appointments which were assigned to general Lawrence, it is our order, that general Coote be allowed a salary of one thousand five hundred pounds a year, to be paid him out of your cash at Fort St. George, or such other presidency at which he shall reside, by quarterly or half yearly payments, to commence upon his arrival; and that one eighteenth part of the two and one half per cent. commission on the neat territorial revenues in Bengal, is to be deducted out of the full commission, and remitted to the general, wherever he shall reside, and the remainder thereof is to be distributed according to our directions, in the general letters to you of the twentieth of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven; also, that he be further allowed one twenty-fourth part of the commission of five per cent. taken on the farmed revenues of Fort St. George, and its subordinates, to be deducted in like manner from the said commission, and the remainder thereof to be distributed according to the directions in our general letter at Fort St. George, dated twenty-fifth March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight.

We further direct, That major-general Coote's travelling charges, in going from one presidency to the other, be borne by the company; and that, whenever it may be necessary for him to take the field, he is, in such case, to be allowed, in addition to his before-mentioned appointments, the sum of ten pounds sterling a day, for the expence of his table and field equipage; and that on days of marching (and not otherwise) he be supplied by the commissary with thirty coolies, to assist in carrying his baggage.

He is to be provided with a house, or apartments, suitable to his rank and station, at such presidency where he shall reside.

You are to observe, that the before-mentioned salary and allowances are to be in full consideration for major-general Coote's services as commander in chief; also for assisting at the board of commissioners, and as a member of council, and of the select and all other committees; and which allowances are not to be exceeded on any pretence whatsoever.

Copy of the tenth Paragraph of the Company's general Letter to Bengal, dated 23d March, 1770.

“ In a letter from your select committee, of the twenty-first December, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, to brigadier general Smith, you write, that “ as the number of seapoys attached to each brigade, requires more than one field officer to command them, we are of opinion, that another may be added to each brigade.

brigade of seapoys. We have taken the matter into consideration ; but before we come to a final resolution, we shall be glad to have your sentiments on this occasion” And in answer thereto, under the twelfth of January, the general writes, “ As to a second major of seapoys, when the necessity of the times obliges lord Clive to promote so many extraordinary majors as afforded an appointment of two to each brigade of seapoys, the second major was little more than a cypher ; yet, in direct opposition to this opinion, you resolved to appoint them, and did accordingly appoint two lieutenant-colonels, without giving the least reason for it. And though we made a new regulation of our military here, which arrived in August, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, yet this very extraordinary letter was not sent to general Smith in November following : notwithstanding the court of directors have been pleased to make an additional number of field officers, in proportion to the strength of their regiments, we are of opinion, that the appointment of a lieutenant-colonel and major to the seapoys of each brigade, is as necessary as ever : and in your letter to the company, not the least notice is taken of these appointments. With these orders before you, we are surprized to find you could presume to act in direct contradiction to them ; and therefore highly disapprove of your conduct, in taking upon you to encrease our military establishments, which we will not admit of in future, except upon very urgent occasions ; and then assign reasons, and point out the necessity of the measure in the clearest and most satisfactory manner for our confirmation, as
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the right of appointing officers on an increased establishment can only rest in us, the utmost, therefore, as you should have done, was to have represented the necessity of such appointments, and waited our orders: but as it would be hard upon the officers you appointed, who have behaved well in our service, and as you could not be acquainted with our having appointed field officers here, we have determined to continue them; but, on any future vacancies, they are not to be filled up, our intention being, that you should revert to the former establishment of one major to each brigade: and we hereby declare, that if you shall hereafter presume to alter the military establishment laid down from the court of directors, by the appointment of any additional or extraordinary officers to such establishment, as has been done in this instance, it is our fixed resolution to dismiss those persons from our service, be they whom they may, who shall take upon themselves to concur in such notorious disobedience of our orders."

Copy of the hundred Paragraph of the Company's general letter to Bengal, dated 10th April, 1771.

"Upon examining into the state of your military officers, we find the number of field officers greatly exceeds your establishment; we therefore direct, that all the above three colonels of infantry (including the commander in chief) six lieutenant colonels of infantry, one of artillery, and the lieutenant-colonel of engineers, six majors of infantry, three of seapoys, one of artillery, and one of engineers, are to be looked upon as supernumeraries,

meraries, and no promotions must be made till they are provided for; as we are determined, that the above establishment shall not exceed on any pretence whatsoever.

Extract of the Company's general Letter to Bengal, dated 25th March, 1772.

“ When we compare the military charges of your presidency to those of Fort St. George, we are struck with astonishment at finding the expences of your establishment more than double the amount of that on the coast. As so enormous a difference is by no means reconcilable with the little disproportion there is between the two establishments, we are led to infer, that this excess must be owing to the inattention of our president and council, as well as to abuses and embezzlements by individuals in the several parts of the military department.

In order, therefore, to discover the causes, and to prevent the continuance of an evil, which is become intollerable to us, it is our positive command, that you forthwith investigate the military charges of your presidency, even to the most minute particular; and should any abuses or mismanagement appear in conducting the business of this department, we expect and require, that you not only inflict due punishment upon all persons who shall have offended in this respect, but that you take all proper measures for putting an effectual stop to such practices in future. And we further direct, that you send us, by the first opportunity, a full and particular state of the military charges of your presidency, distinguished under their proper heads,

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and exhibited in so clear and comprehensive a manner, that we may not remain under the least uncertainty respecting the causes which have occasioned the immoderate extent of your military expences: but that we may be enabled to judge by what mode, and in what degree, the same may be reduced, without weakening that establishment, which may be necessary for the protection of our possessions in Bengal."

Extract of the Company's general Letter to Bengal, dated the 7th April, 1773.

"The absolute necessity of retrenching the excessive military charges of your presidency, has induced us to appoint Lauchlin M^cLeane, Esq; commissary-general of army accounts in Bengal, whose sole attention being fixed on one object, we flatter ourselves, that he will be able to effectuate such a reduction of extra and contingent expences as may fully answer our expectations in his appointment.

The accompanying copy of a report of the committee, which we appointed to form regulations and instructions relative to the commissary-general, will convey to you our ideas of the necessity of reviving that office in Bengal, and also mark many of those improprieties and abuses which appear to us to merit an immediate and an effectual reform; consonant to which report, you are hereby directed to prepare instructions for the said commissary-general, and to take care that they be effectually carried into execution.

Mr. MacLeane, for his service as commissary-general, is to be allowed the salary and emoluments

ments annexed to the station of youngest counsellor, and in order to give him rank in the field, we have granted him a brevet commission, with the rank of colonel; but he is not to perform any military duty, or receive any pay or batta, or other emoluments whatever, in consequence of such his military rank.

As we esteem the appointments of quarter-master general of great importance, and as lieutenant-colonel Leslie has served in that department during the last war, in different parts, we have appointed him to execute that post at your presidency; but under this express condition, that he does not receive any pay or emolument for executing that trust, except what is agreeable to the custom of the army in England, and these he is entitled to as lieutenant-colonel of the infantry. Copy of his warrant is inclosed.

And the committee having examined lord Clive with regard to the military establishment of cavalry in India, his lordship said, his idea was, that very few cavalry in India are necessary; that no more than a number sufficient to prevent surprises are wanted; that they are very expensive, and that one hundred horses for each settlement would be sufficient.

And the committee examined general Caillaud on the same subject, who, upon lord Clive's evidence being read to him, confirmed the same; and added, that the cavalry had at different times been reformed, on account of the heavy expences which attended them; that a certain number of them might be necessary, when the European cavalry of other powers happened to be opposed, to
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the forces of the company, but that, in the time of peace, a very small body, sufficient for escorts, patrols, and duties of the like kind, was enough.

And the committee examined lord Clive, as to his opinion about the seapoys ; and his lordship informed them, That he thought the existence of the company in India, but particularly in Bengal, depended upon the discipline and subordination of the seapoys, and that they cannot be too well officered. That if there could be one European officer to each company of seapoys, it would be greatly to the advantage of the service ; that he has so high an opinion of the fidelity, attachment, and bravery of the seapoys, when commanded by a number of English officers speaking the language, the defence of the country might be intrusted to them alone, supported by a good train of artillery, commanded by British subjects ; that he thinks it very necessary that there should be one field officer at least, who is an European, to each battalion of seapoys.

And the committee examined general Caillaud on the same subject ; who, upon lord Clive's evidence being read to him, confirmed the same, but added, that in his opinion the battalion of seapoys are too strong ; that if they were divided into more battalions and fewer men in each, it would make them more dependent, and less likely to form combinations : but, with respect to artillery, he observed, that the management of that branch ought to be kept entirely in the hands of Europeans.

And the committee find, by a separate letter to Fort St. George of the seventeenth of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine ; that the
directors

directors approved of the plan for raising a body of cavalry, as contained in the preceding of that presidency of the twenty-ninth of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight ; but that they desired them, before that they determined on it, to see that proper provision be made for the payment of that corps, and that cantonments be assigned them, in times of peace, most proper for subsisting and preserving that corps.

And that they, besides, ordered them to send as many men to complete the body of one thousand five hundred European infantry at Bombay, as that presidency should require from them, but so as not to reduce their establishment.

And that they strictly ordered and required them to stick to the settlement of the military establishments, as it had been fixed by their separate letter to that presidency of the twenty-fifth of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, and that they should not form any new corps or companies, in order to provide for any supernumerary officers they might have, adding, that they would not allow of their exceeding that establishment, without their express permission first obtained for that purpose."

And the committee will in the next place, proceed to lay before the house, what has occurred to them material upon the article of pay and batta.

And they find, by the general letter to Fort St. George of the ninth of December, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, that the court of directors

rectors complained of the extraordinary allowance called batta to the company's troops, as too heavy to be borne ; and said, that it must as soon as possible be entirely laid aside ; that if any more than the pay was really necessary, upon particular occasions, it must be settled upon the most moderate terms ; that that period, when they had nothing more to fear from European enemies, seemed to be the very point of time, when this reformation was most likely to be effected ; and that they should hope to hear that the presidency had made the proper use of it ; but that at all events they should depend upon their embracing the first opportunity of effecting this order.

And the committee find, in the general letter to Fort St. George of the 9th of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, that the court of directors declared, that having already given that presidency their sentiments upon the excessive military expence, as well by the letters of that as of the former season, and as they could by no means alter them, or admit of farther innovations, they could not but approve of their not complying with colonel Monson's representation for an additional allowance to the subaltern officers and private men, when in quarters ; and that most certainly that gentleman must be sensible, no military service whatever had so many advantages attending it as that of the company.

That they also approved their conduct, with regard to the proposals made for maintaining the European cavalry ; but that as the terms, though the lowest then offered, seemed to them very high, notwithstanding which, they would not dispute the
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reasonableness thereof, but entirely relied on the endeavours of the presidency, for reducing this charge to easier terms, whenever opportunity should offer.

And the committee find, by the separate letter from Fort St. George, of the seventeenth of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, that though that presidency expressed themselves very sensible, that the expence of batta was heavy, and added, that they had reduced it as low as circumstances would admit, yet they declared that it could never be entirely laid aside, as it was impossible for the officers and men to subsist in the field on their pay alone.

And the committee find, by the general letter to Fort St. George, of the first of June, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, that the court of directors replied, that notwithstanding the presidency had declared, they had reduced the batta allowed to the military, as low as circumstances would admit, yet it was, even according to the present reduced plan, too heavy an expence to be borne; that they therefore expected, that whenever the situation of affairs would admit of a farther reduction, the presidency would lay hold of the first and every opportunity to obtain this desirable end, which they had been so constantly ordering for a considerable time past, and others had recommended it in the strongest terms to their presidency at Bengal to do the same; and as the presidency of Fort St. George could not but be sensible how essentially necessary it was for the interest of the company, they (the directors) should expect to co-operate with their said presidency of Bengal, in
every

every means that might tend to reduce the batta, and other military expences, at both presidencies, within the most reasonable and moderate bounds the situation of affairs would admit.

And the committee find, by the seperate letter to Fort St. George of the 17th of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, that the court of directors declared themselves greatly dissatisfied with the jealousies and heartburnings that arose from the disparity of batta and allowances between the coast and the Bengal troops ; that this was a matter of very great importance, for that they plainly perceived, that it would have been almost impossible to have brought them to act together : that they should expect the three presidencies to co-operate in forming some plan that might prevent this in future, in which, due consideration must be had to the rate of provisions in the several countries in which they might act ; and that they hoped, by a communication of sentiments with each other, this great evil might be prevented, and the troops of the several presidencies be brought to act with the harmony, which the general welfare of the company required.

That the double post held by the Bengal officers, seemed likewise to have created great jealousies : that those two ought to be discussed ; for they could not suffer such trifling considerations to come in competition with the succours that must be mutually afforded by the several presidencies for the preservation of the whole.

And,

And the committee will not proceed to lay before the house what has occurred to them material, upon the subject of extraordinary contingent expences.

And they find, by the general letter to Fort St. George of the first of June, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, that the court of directors ordered, that with respect to brigadier general Caillaud, instead of colonel's and captain's pay, amounting to twenty-five shillings a day, the allowances made him by their letter of the thirtieth of the preceding December should include the said twenty-five shillings a day, and should be in full considerations for all his services whatsoever.

And the committee find, by the general letter to Fort St. George of the twenty-second of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, that the court of directors informed that presidency, that they had taken into consideration the regulation of allowances to a commander in chief, when in the field; and that they directed that whenever it should be necessary for general Lawrence to take the field, he shall be allowed, in addition to his then appointments of one thousand five hundred pounds a year, the sum of two pagodas a day, and that, on the day of marching (but at no other time) the commissary should supply him, on the company's account, with twenty-five or thirty coolies, to assist in carrying his baggage, which the presidency were to give the necessary orders for accordingly; and that, in like manner, when general Caillaud should take the field, instead of general Lawrence,

he should have, over and above his appointments of one thousand pounds a year, the before-mentioned allowances of ten pagodas a day, and the supply of coolies ; and that the said allowances either to general Lawrence or general Caillaud, as commander in chief, who in the field, were to be in full consideration for his table, and all expences whatever, on such service, and during such service only, and were not to be exceeded on any pretence whatsoever : that, on the contrary, if those allowances could be reduced, consistently with the good of the service, the directors declare, it will be greatly to their satisfaction, considering the very heavy military expences the company labours under, and they accordingly recommend most earnestly this measure to the consideration and care of the presidency.

And the directors further added, that the said allowances were not to be made a precedent, or to be extended to any other officer or officers whatsoever, who should take the command in the field, either during the time of the said general Lawrence or Caillaud's being on the coast, or at any future time ; but that such a moderate allowance should be made, in lieu thereof, as the presidency should, with the strictest regard to œconomy, think proper, and which, therefore, they left to their discretion to adjust.

And the committee find, by the seperate letter to Fort St. George, of the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, that the court of directors observed, that the necessity of some settled regulation of expence in every department was so obvious, that they wondered much
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how general Lawrence could take any exceptions to the orders they sent in their letters of the twenty-second of March 1765, fixing the allowance to either him or general Caillaud, as commander in chief, when in the field ; that this did not proceed from any alteration in the advantageous opinion they had always, and did then, with justice entertain of his merits and oeconomy ; but they hoped, that after having settled such an allowance for such a man, no succeeding officer (if he had been content) could have aspired to more, and few to so much, that it would have given them great satisfaction if the general had penetrated into their views, and set that good example.

The committee, in the next place proceeded to examine into the conduct of the servants of the company, with relation to such troops, on the coast of Coromandel, as were either paid in part or wholly, by the nabob of the Carnatic.

And the committee find, by the minute of a consultation at Fort St. George, dated April the twenty sixth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, That the governor and council represented to the directors, that they had established some provisions for wounded and invalid seapoys, and added them to the military regulations ; and that they are as follow, viz.

	Pag.	Fan.	Cash per Month.	
Zemindars	- 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	00	00	
Havildars and naiges	1	29	40	ditto
Private Seapoys	- 1	00	00	ditto
And				

And the committee find, by a separate letter from Fort St. George of March the twenty-seventh, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, that the presidency represent their apprehensions that the military establishment will fall short, as the nabob had particularly desired that no reduction might be made in the seapoys, who were then about 10,000; to which request the presidency could not refuse their consent, as the whole, both officers and men, were carried on his account.

And the committee find, by the company's general letter to Fort St. George, of February the nineteenth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, that the director's resolved to comply with the nabob's desire, and added, that they expected to receive the following benefits, viz. That the company would be disburthened of maintaining a body of four thousand seapoys, according to their former regulation of the 30th of December 1763, as they conceive that these are comprehended in the above-mentioned number of 10,000; and that, if this corps is properly trained and attached to them, they may at all times depend on them, and be the more powerful on the coast, in case of war with France; and that they shall likewise keep the nabob firmer to their interest, by their having under their controul almost the whole military force, by which the province is to be protected; but that, on the other hand, it is to be apprehended, that these troops, being natives of India, when opposed to the country powers, may incline to desert the cause of the company, should any dispute arise between them and the nabob; an event at present not probable, but, however, not wholly chimerical, since their

their competitors are so nearly interested in such a division, and so capable of art to effect it : that a defection in a corps so armed and disciplined, might be productive of most mischievous consequences, as their superiority over seapoys in the country service, consist only in their discipline ; that however those apprehensions yield to their hopes and expectations, that such general regulations may be established and such expedients be adopted, as may obviate their dangers ; and they add, that the following articles seem to them essential.

That the whole corps be formed into ten battalions ; each battalion to be commanded by one captain, one lieutenant, and one ensign :

That each battalion consist of ten companies of one hundred men each, officers included, to be commanded by one European serjeant, and such officers, natives of India, as shall be found necessary.

That the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, do rank with the officers of our European battalions, and have regular succession in that corps, unless the presidency shall see just cause of exception to any individual : that the ten junior captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, have the command of the seapoys, and, as they succeed by vacancies to the European battalion, their places are to be supply'd in the command of seapoys, by younger officers :

That the utmost care be taken, as well at the time of enlisting, as at all times afterwards, to inculcate the opinion, that they are wholly and solely dependent on the company, subject to their orders and controul, and to no other power whatsoever ; and, as much as possible, it should be concealed, that

that the nabob is under any agreement to reimburse the company for their pay.

That they be clothed in an uniform remarkably distinguished from such seapoys as the nabob may himself entertain for the guard of his person, or any other purposes.

That a pay-master of seapoys be appointed from the covenanted servants of the company at the presidency, that he have an office for transacting the business of this department; and that such of the seapoys, as shall be from time to time at the presidency, shall be regularly and monthly paid at the public office, not by issuing the pay of each company to the subadar, but that each man be paid by the pay-master himself; and that such seapoys as are in the out-garrisons be in like manner paid; every man separately, by the pay-master of the garrison, who, (as has been the custom for some time) must continue to be appointed from among the covenanted servants of the company.

That the British colours (such as are carried by our European battalions) be also borne at the head of the seapoy battalion, without any distinction; and that such distinguishing colours as the company's of the several battalions may bear, be also very remarkably distinguished.

In consequence of a representation made by the presidency, with the concurrence of general Lawrence, that five officers were insufficient for each artillery company (there being seven to each company in the King's forces) they did permit an addition of two more officers to each company of artillery, viz. one captain-lieutenant, and one lieutenant-fireworker; and as it was stated that

the lieutenant-fireworker's pay was really insufficient for his maintaintance, they agreed to make it equal to that of the ensign's.

Ufoph Cown (whose defection cost the company so much blood and treasure) had with him one thousand seapoys regularly disciplined, and officered with European serjeants and corporals, besides a coffer company.

The company thought no such confidence as that of renting counties should ever in future be placed in any of the subalterns or seapoy officers; though the Nabob agreed to defray that expence, yet this became void, upon an occasional application to him for money, he would frequently plead want of cash, from the necessity of the times, and that large expences would consequently be paid by the company, and carried to his account, thereby adding greatly to that very large sum he was already indebted to them; and they alledged, that a more regular receipt would accrue, if the Nabob would make installments on renters of particular countries.

The presidency of Fort George acquainted the board with a conversation he had held with the Nabob, relative to the disturbances formed by the Polygars, and the complaints he received of the incursions of the plunders into the Onygohe and Tanjour country: that he was convinced the troops in his service were unable to suppress them; that he therefore required another battalion of his seapoys might be taken into the company's service, put under their officers, and regulated and disciplined like the rest of their troops; and that he ~~would make~~ good their expence: that he also desired

fired that the entire defence and protection of the country may be left to the company's troops, and that the utmost endeavours may be used to disperse the Polygars, clear the woods, and establish peace and safety to the inhabitants; that as the presidency and council would agree to this, and give the strictest orders, that the company's officers should support his managers with troops, without interfering with the revenues on matters relative thereto, he would dismiss all the troops he kept in the said countries, and thereby save part of the expence he sustained; and he hoped in a few years the country people, being convinced of the company's resolution to maintain peace, and punish disturbers, they would forbear their usual practice of plundering the sircar government.

The board expressed thereupon their satisfaction. Upon finding that the Nabob at length began to wean himself of his jealousy, and to discover, from experience, what they had often told him, viz. that his keeping up a large body of troops was almost an useless expence; and that half the number, or even one third in the company's pay, would be a more effectual security and support: that at times he had seemed to be convinced of this, but as often relapsed into the apprehensions of lessening his own importance and dignity, as he lessened his forces.

He had declared he was fully determined to discharge all his seapoys, and keep only a select body of horse, and had even pressed the presidency to raise an additional number of battalions, to protect the country, out of the seapoys he discharged. Letters had been written to the several commanding

commanding officers to give the presidency their opinions, how many troops would suffice for their respective commands, and they had thereupon concluded twenty battalions instead of fourteen kept up by the company, and eighteen by the Nabob, to be sufficient for the entire protection of the Carnatick against all invaders; but by the time this resolution was taken, the Nabob had alledged, that on re-considering this matter, he discovered irredoncilable differences between our commanding officers and his managers, and that he must be a considerable sufferer in his revenue, unless his officers had the entire command of the troops: that the presidency were sensible that many difficulties might arise, which would require great care and attention; but hoped that perseverance and vigorous examples made of these officers who might be guilty of breach of orders, would get the better of these objections; but forbore to insist on what they were convinced was wholly for his good, could it be perfected, lest the Nabob might think their pushing this system might proceed from other motives than that of protecting his interest, and that they wanted to divest him of all appearance of power, and render him at once a mere dependent in every respect.

Upon the experience they had had of the good effects arising from their late promotion of a battalion of seapoys, out of the Nabob's troops, they readily agreed to his proposal, as they hoped by the surety and protection, they should be able to give the country, the weavers, and other inhabi-

tants who had lately left it, might be prevailed on to return.

The presidency agreed to acquaint the King of Tanjour of this their intention, and to desire that he would give them a farther proof of his reliance on the company's friendship, by assisting them with troops, and doing every thing in his power to disperse the Polygars, and drive them from his country when they retire thither.

The presidency ordered a battalion of seapoys to be raised out of the Nabob's troops, to assist and protect his managers, without exacting duties, or interfering with the government of the revenues.

In consequence of a resolution taken by the presidency, to reduce the European cavalry, these from the northward were ordered thither, and the men incorporated among the artillery, infantry, and seapoys, according to their several qualifications; and they had judged it most advisable to make the Nabob a tender of the horses, with their accoutrements: from the experience they had had, that when the cavalry were reduced, and the horses sold at out-cry, they had fetched but an inconsiderable price; and that as the Nabob had been charged with them, the presidency would observe the same mode with regard to these that remained to be reduced.

It had been observed, that the black cavalry of the Nabob, lately placed under European officers, agreeable to a resolution taken in a consultation of November twenty-third last preceding, had, during the course of the month of February, 1768, all quitted the camp of colonels Smith and ~~Wool~~ and

and returned to Arcot, through want of pay, which the Nabob's distress for money would not admit of his sending regularly, and that the company's treasury was unable to furnish 80,000 rupees monthly, to pay 2000 black horse.

The presidency informed the Nabob, that unless they were put immediately under the orders of the company's officers, and received their pay regularly from them, as the rest of the troops do who act for the company, it would be better he should discharge them entirely.

Ibrahim Beg, who commanded four hundred horse, and one hundred scapoys, having also lately left the camp without orders, and having received an offer to enter into the Soubah's service, should he be permitted to do so, as this establishment, by which he was allowed 2000 rupees per month for himself, and for paying a body of horsemen, not regularly formed or disciplined, was inconsistent with the other part of their military constitution, and as indeed the principal reason for first engaging him, was to prevent his being troublesome in the fireary, of which he had a thorough knowledge, and as the desertion of the Nabob's horse, and their resolution to discharge these of Ibrahim Beg, would certainly expose their convoys to Hyder's cavalry, they took into consideration a proposal of major Fitzgerald, to answer the purposes of the troops they dismissed, which proposal was as follows, viz.

To augment the company's small troops of horse, now consisting of 38 to 100, on the same footing as the foreign hussars, and to augment the hussars also to 100; they will form a good body of 200 Europeans,

ropeans, who will be mounted, cloathed and paid at a certain monthly expence, much lels than they formerly cost : to these, he purposes the nabob should add 500 black horse, which are his own property, and may be mounted with some of our seapoys, or the best men that can be found, who being paid monthly exclusive of their horses, and the horses being the nabob's property, fed by contract, the men may be formed and disciplined in as regular a manner as our seapoys. With such a body of European and black cavalry, supported by the foreign light infantry and one of our battalion of seapoys with their field pieces ; major Fitzgerald was of opinion, that it would be an easy matter to protect the Carnatic against any invaders, or to escort provisions safe to the army.

The presidency used all prudent steps to effect the entire reliance of the nabob on the company, for the protection of the Carnatic ; as the introducing that system would be of the utmost importance from their conclusion, that twelve battalions less, than were kept both by the company and the nabob, would be sufficient for the defence of that country against all invaders ; would establish tranquility, encrease his revenues, and considerably diminish his expences. That as his dependance would excite his jealousy, the cautious management of the presidency was necessary to engage him without disgust, and by degrees, to discharge the whole of this useless rabble, and to rely entirely on the troops of the company for the defence and security of his possessions.

The number of seapoys judged by the presidency not to exceed twenty battalions, was not to be en-
created

creased beyond what on the most minute consideration was deemed actually necessary ; they were to be maintained on the most frugal footing, and all possible measures taken to prevent differences between the officers and the nabob's managers, and positive orders given for keeping the strictest discipline, and avoiding every cause of complaint

When the directors permitted an encrease of the seapoys establishment, it was done with a view to reduce the numbers of the nabob's undisciplined rabble ; but those had been exercising to such a degree, as would almost incline them to think, he meant in future to rely on them for the defence of the Carnatic, and the time might come, when such another effort would be required, as in the long war sustained by the company in defence of the Carnatic, against the same powerful enemy, and that no preparation would be equal to that of a full treasury ; till this was accomplished, he must confine all his ambition to the putting the Carnatic into a proper state of defence, by keeping up the fortifications, and having his magazines well stored. The nabob could not strengthen himself by any means so effectual, as the re-establishing his finances. The directors took notice of the many disadvantages the Carnatic laboured under, from the want of an uniform system between the nabob and the company, with respect to the military establishment and operations, and they observed as the defence of that country always rests upon the company in case of an invasion, so it is reasonable and proper that the nabob should submit to be controuled by them, with respect to the number and discipline of his troops.

The

The vast body of infantry he kept up being no less than 20,000 men, besides 2000 cavalry and 10,000 seapoys, maintained by the company, and charged to his account, was a greater force than that which is kept up in the three Bengal provinces, and vastly beyond what the defence of the Carnatic would require, or the revenue maintain ; it could not be much short of 60 lacks of rupees per annum, which added to his civil establishment, and the interest of his vast debt, placed his affairs in a most ruinous light.

The presidency insisted on his concerting with them a proper plan, with respect both to his numbers and the means of paying his military establishment ; that part of this plan must be the forming and paying a proper body of cavalry, under English officers, who will be of real service when occasion requires. The president of Fort St George urged to the nabob the necessity of providing for the payment of ten battalions of seapoys, for the expence of certain garrisons, and also for paying something towards the discharge of his ancient debt. The nabob in reply, had repeatedly represented and urged the distressed state of the country ; the little expectation he had of drawing any considerable revenues this year, and his inability to pay any large sum or provide for the ten battalions of seapoys. At one of the meetings he went so far as to declare, that he would pay no seapoys ; that he did not want them, that our garrisons distressed him, and that on condition they should be immediately withdrawn, he would in eighteen months pay off his debt to the company, provided the country remained in peace.

— The .

The company represented to the Nabob, tho' they would be exceedingly glad to see him disincumbered from his public as well as private debts, yet as the company had undertaken the defence and protection of the Carnatic, it would be dangerous as well as cruel to discharge ten well disciplined battalions; and they did not doubt but the Nabob, reflecting more coolly, how defenceless and exposed he would have his possessions, would be induced to adopt the proposal made him, and keep up troops, at least till the company had come to a resolution on so important a subject. The Nabob, at last declared, that he would not consent to subsist more than 7000 seapoys, till the company's pleasure should be known: the Nabob grew so intractable, that the president could obtain no answer to his letters, and he had the greatest difficulty to bring him to a verbal assent to the payment of the sums agreed upon; he refused furnishing hereafter sheep and cattle for the Europeans, as he had formerly done, because the country had been plundered and ruined from the Kistna to Cape Comorin: he alledged that the complaints of his and the company's officers against each other would be endless, without any apparent means of preventing them; and he therefore desired, that we would withdraw as many garrisons as we could in prudence, and give the strictest orders to the officers commanding in the rest, not to interfere with his managers, or the country people, but confine themselves wholly the discipline of the troops, and preservation of the garrisons committed to their charge.

The

The board being willing to give the Nabob every relief in their power, from expence, resolved to reduce the eleven battalions to ten, and to form the battalions in such manner, that they might come as near as possible to the number the Nabob had limited.

The nabob having given orders for putting 2000 of his cavalry under the officers of the company, the board proceeded to take into consideration the establishment and pay of the European officers and serjeants, to be appointed to this corps, and the following was agreed upon.

One captain, his pay, to find and feed five horses for himself and subaltern, with accoutrements, per month	500 rupees
One lieutenant for himself -	140 ditto
One cornet ditto -	125 ditto

Five serjeants at forty-two rupees each per month, in full for pay and provisions, besides two pagodas per month, to be made for stoppages by the paymaster.

Five horses for the serjeant, at forty-two rupees each per month, in field or garrison, to be found, fed and accoutred by the captains.

The captain, lieutenant and cornet to receive their usual batta in the field, and the captain to have 500 pagodas per year, off reckonings. The horses killed or disabled on actual service to be paid for according to valuation

A marque tent and two bullocks to be allowed the captain, two small tents of a particular construction for the subalterns, each to be carried by one

one bullock, and two small private tents for the serjeants. In all, six bullocks to be allowed, with three lascars and three coolies to each 500 horse.

The presidency of Fort St. George having taken into consideration what force should be allotted for the jagguire and the settlements in the Carnatic; the black town and garrison of Fort St. George required at least one battalion of seapoys in standing guards, and two battalions more, besides three independent companies for other garrisons, considering all the circumstances of revenue and extent, were a reasonable force for the defence of the jagguire.

The presidency having taken under consideration the forming the establishment of the troops on the coast; general Coote, in consequence of their application to him, informed them, that he understood the twelve battalions ordered to be kept up, were to be at the sole expence of the company, and that twelve battalions of seapoys were very insufficient for the protection of the Carnatic, and six battalions were very inadequate to the service of the fircars; but as it would be impossible for the company to support such an expence, it became necessary to apply to the nabob, to know what number of those to be kept up for the service of the Carnatic, should be charged to his account.

The presidency having taken under their most mature consideration the important point of settling their military establishments upon a respectable footing, took the advice of lord Clive, major general Lawrence, and major general Coote, and they ordered that it should consist at this presidency of two regiments of European infantry and twelve

battalions of seapoys, which including the commission and non-commission officers, European and black, consisted of 12,624 men. Besides, that establishment the nabob consented that ten battalions of seapoys should be entertained on his account, but that they should be under the orders of the company, and be commanded by European officers, and that their pay should be advanced by the company, and carried to the debit of his account; the court of directors adopted the plan, and gave directions for carrying the same into execution.

General Coote's opinion regarding the establishment with the remarks of the board in consequence, appears as follows :

The board having last consultation requested my opinion, regarding the orders of the court of directors in their letters of the third of January 1770, respecting the military establishment of the presidency of Fort St. George; I now give that opinion with more confidence, as I had the honour of being one of the three general officers called upon by the court of directors to take into consideration the state of their forces in India, and to form such a military system as might preserve their extensive possessions in this part of the world.

In the report which general Lawrence, lord Clive, and I, gave into the court of directors, we formed this establishment similar to that of Bengal, which consisted of three regiments of Europeans of two battalions to each regiment, so that the whole of Europeans was

Three

Three Colonels
 Three lieutenant colonels
 Six majors
 Fifty-four captains
 One hundred and twenty lieutenants
 Forty-two ensigns
 Two hundred and twenty-eight serjeants
 Two hundred and twenty-eight corporals
 One hundred and twenty drummers
 Two thousand eight hundred and twenty private
 men.

To each regiment, we added six battalions of seapoys, making eighteen battalions; the whole of seapoys being

Three lieutenant-colonels
 Three Majors
 One hundred and eighty European officers
 Eighteen black commandants
 One hundred and eighty subahdars
 Five hundred and forty zemindars
 One hundred and eighty colour bearers
 Thirty-six trumpeters
 Five hundred and forty tom toms
 Seven hundred and twenty havildars
 Seven hundred and twenty narks
 Twelve thousand six hundred seapoys

This body of troops with the assistance of the nabob, we thought might be sufficient to protect our possessions here; we certainly did suppose that they were to be maintained at the expence of the company; and till within these few days, I declare I did not know that the nabob paid any of the seapoys, which were returned as the company's, and which

which returns were the only guide the military committee had to go by.

Supposing twelve battalions to be entertained on the company's account, and the nabob's ten to remain as they are, the whole force under our command would be

Twelve company's battalion's new establishment, European officers ex- clusive	-	-	12,372
Ten nabob's battalions, old esta- blishment	-	-	6,630
			<hr/> 19,002

But if the nabob would consent to raise his battalions to the same establishment as the company have ordered for theirs, then the whole number would be, European officers included, 23,144.

Pursuant to the board's request, general Coote delivered in his sentiments with respect to the establishment and disposition of the troops on the coast as follow :

While our forces on this coast continue divided in the manner they now are, the seapoys corps separated in different parts of the Carnatic and the battalions in general under no regulation, but those of their captain's, it will be utterly impossible for the troops to practise a regular uniform system of exercise and discipline, such as ought to be pursued in order to make them fit for active service. Whenever there shall be occasion to assemble the battalions, (each of them in all probability having been used to a particular mode of discipline) the whole

whole must be new modelled ere they can act together ; this will not only occasion delays and require time, when perhaps dispatch is requisite, and the least procrastination may be attended with bad consequences to the service. General Coote and brigadier general Smith, are therefore firmly of opinion, that one regiment and six battalions of seapoys, formed on the new establishment, and equipped with field equipage, should be drawn together and stationed in a central position. These troops when assembled, may receive all the advantages that can be derived from discipline : the officers and men will be thoroughly acquainted with every branch of their duty, and compose a formidable and steady body of troops to enter on actual service at the shortest notice.

When such a body is collected, disciplined and kept constantly together, the garrisons of course, will be made less considerable, as the brigade before-mentioned, is supposed to be prepared and ready to march on all occasions, when ever their presence may be necessary ; but as no resolution is yet taken, what number of seapoys are to be kept on this establishment, or whether his excellency may be inclined to augment the number of our battalions at present on his pay, it is impossible for us to give our ultimate sentiments till those points are settled.

If the nabob's territories from Cape Comerin, to the Palanau dex (to be protected a tract of country not less than 700 miles) and we are to consider the two regiments, of two battalions each, and twelve battalions of one thousand seapoys each, as the whole

whole force to be kept on foot south of the Kistnah it is by no means sufficient, which the sketch annexed will more clearly demonstrate.

To form the first brigade,

Two battalions of European infantry of 500 men each, six six pounders, two howitzers, and six battalions of seapoys.

To form the second brigade,

Two battalions of European infantry, and six battalions of seapoys.

The two brigades, once formed, one of them should be kept in cantonment, at all times prepared for service, the other to garrison Fort St. George, Villeur, Trichinopoly, the Madera, and Tenevilly countries, and to do that duty alternately. If this plan should take place, the third jagguire battalion will be reduced, and incorporated with the others as far as they go.

The northern establishment is at present composed of six companies of Europeans, and one company of artillery, both amounting to about 700 Europeans, and six battalions of seapoys, with the foreign legions, consisting of two hundred coffees to trench a force; very inadequate to the country they have to cover, and to keep in check a neighbourhood by no means disposed to consider us as friends, and in whom there is not the least confidence to be placed. Considering how the force in the fircars is distributed, an active body of troops, entering that country, might over-run the greatest part, if not the whole, before our detachments could be drawn together, or any disposition made to stop an enemy's progress; the troops
of

of the fircars ought, therefore, rather to be increased, if we mean to preserve them.

One brigade is so far from being sufficient to garrison the several forts in the Carnatic, that at least it will require to garrison Fort St. George, exclusive of artillery and European infantry, two battalions of seapoys.

Veleur and Amboan, one battalion.

Medara and Palimcotah, two ditto.

Trichinopoly, two ditto.

Seven battalions of seapoys.

The board acquiesced to the proposal of general Coote, with regard to the disposition of the troops recommended by him, and were fully sensible how inadequate the force in the fircars was to the very great extent of them. It appeared by the company's disbursements, deducted from the receipts, that the sum left for the investments and remittances to China, was very small, even in time of peace, and of course in time of war the probable resources in India will fall short of their expences.

Therefore the directors could not form any resolution as to the number of seapoys to be kept up, until the Nabob had acquainted them what part of them he would have carried to his account; it was therefore agreed to lay before him a statement of the establishments proposed, and to request he would inform the board what number of seapoys he was willing should be paid, officered and disciplined, by the company on his account.

The company being sensible of the necessity of maintaining twelve battalions for the defence of the Carnatic, and six for the protection of the fircars, knowing at the same time how inadequate
their

their revenues were to the expence of such an establishment, were surprized at the Nabob's declaring, that he had no need of seapoys; therefore, the presidency of Fort St. George were directed to continue the establishment of seapoys paid by him; and on the supposition that the Nabob should refuse to consent, they were ordered to carry the whole expence of 10,000 seapoys to his debit, until they had new instructions for reforming the said establishment.

As the defence of the company rested principally on the company, the Nabob should not have objected to the number and discipline of his troops, as his circumstances had not varied so much as to deviate from the maxims established.

Upon this plan, the seapoy establishment was as follows:

	Men.
For standing guards at the presidency,	
and the jagguire, two battalions,	2104
Carnatic, ten ditto,	1520
Sircars, six ditto,	6312
	<hr/>
Total,	18,936

In the estimate, a greater number than two battalions had been allotted for standing guards, and Jaghire garrison; but as such estimate had been formed on a supposition, that only seven battalions were to be under the orders of the presidency, on the Nabob's account, the proper disposition of three more battalions in the Carnatic garrison, rendered the safety of Jagghuire lands greater than would have been the case with fifteen additional companies in the company's territories, and a diminution

tion of near three thousand men in these of the Nabob.

Extract of a letter from President Verelst, at Calcutta, dated 5th April, 1769.

“ Yet though we have little reason for fears from abroad, the internal state of our provinces is matter of real concern, and, unless provided for by speedy and effectual measures, they must moulder into ruin of themselves, without the intervention of any enemy; a little attention to the nature of the riches of Bengal, and a comparison of the various sources of wealth or distress in the former and present systems of government, will evince this beyond dispute: though our provinces afford no gold, silver or precious stones, yet the vast variety and abundance of the produce of the lands, and the excellence of the manufactures of the inhabitants, leave them no great occasion for imported commodities; and, at the same time invite foreign merchants to purchase and export these goods and manufactures from their superior cheapness and quality. I have observed, that the natives had occasion for few foreign commodities, either for convenience or luxury, and consequently a very small proportion of their trade could be carried on by barter, and the rest, only by giving specie for goods: the extent also of this traffic was prodigious, and besides the large investments of the different European nations, the Bengal raw silks, cloths, &c. at a vast amount, were dispersed to the west and north inland, as far as Guzerate, Cahore, and even Ispahan;

han ; in proportion therefore to this diffusion of commerce, the quantity of specie in the country necessarily increased, the farmers and workmen were enabled to answer the demands of government with ease, by the readiness of their sales ; and every extension of industry at home, or trade abroad, was a new opening to and advance of the general opulence ; from this view then of the state of trade heretofore in these provinces, and by setting the sum of the charges of merchandize and other necessary disbursements against the sum of the imports, it will clearly follow, that the whole amount of the trade of the provinces was a clear gain to them, by an exchange of their produce for bullion : how far the imports and exports balance each other, you have ample means of conviction in your own hands, by a comparison of your export goods and bullion with your factory disbursements and homeward investments, till the revolution in 1757 ; and if this should prove so in your extensive commerce, the circumstances will hold much more strongly in the inland trade of the Mogul and Guzerat merchants, who had the duties of the government to pay, and whose goods were transported chiefly by an expensive land-carriage.

If these facts are admitted, we can no longer be at a loss for the source of the prodigious ancient riches of Bengal, as there flowed in every year an increase of specie equal to the amount of the export trade of the country ; and of the immensity of this we must conceive the most consequential idea, when we find from the pickoutra (or custom office books) at Murshadabad, that so late

late as Aliverdy Cawn's time, and after so many internal revolutions and foreign ravages, nearly the value of 70 lacks in raw silk were entered there, exclusive of the European investments, which were not registered in them, as being either duty free, or paying at Hughley.

Here then we trace the grand and true fountain of the wealth of these soubahs, and the splendor of their nezims; but besides this, there were also several collateral streams which served in their turns to feed and swell the principal one. The advantages accruing from so beneficial a commerce, enabled, as we have seen, the farmer and manufacturer to discharge their stipulated revenue to their prince, and these revenues again did not center nor were sunk in his coffers, but returned through various channels into the general circulation; large jaghires were granted to men of noble families or particular favourites; whole districts were allotted to the other branches of the reigning family, at a rate vastly below their real value; large armies of horse, &c. were maintained, either for show or security, at an enormous expence; and even the luxury and pomp ever customary among the potentates of the east, contributed in some degree, by encouraging a spirit of expence, and dissipating large sums among the people in general, which, if they had remained shut up in the treasury, would have been a loss to the country, and of no present advantage to the proprietor. By these means, therefore, and the advantage of trade already mentioned, an extensive and brisk circulation of specie was kept up every where; the farmer was easy, the artizan en-

encouraged, the merchant enriched, and the prince satisfied. It would not be easy, neither is it of importance to the present enquiry, to ascertain the precise æra in which all these began to decline: but so far is certain, that the decline was neither felt by the country, nor perceptible to us, till after the revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier. This threw so considerable sums into the hands of the company, as to render their importing bullion for their investments unnecessary, and the large fortunes obtained in consequence by individuals, who were precluded the course of remittance through your cash, filled the treasuries of foreign nations, in exchange for bills on their respective companies; so that ever since the country came into our possession, they have been enabled to rival us in trade in our own territories with our own money. The former channels then of opulence to the country beginning to stagnate, it was left to be maintained by the old stock of specie, which for a series of years past had flowed into it; and this, by a variety of unforeseen events, sunk more rapidly than in the ordinary course of things it might otherwise have done.

The elevation of Meer Jaffier was attended with ruin to many of the principal families dependant on the late reigning one, and much confusion and interruption to the trade of the country merchant, by advancing our interest therein in preference to theirs. When a second revolution took place in favour of Coffim Ally Cawn, he soon found the fatal tendency of this superior influence; his endeavours to put the other mer-
chants •

chants on something of an equal footing with us, produced continual disputes between his officers and our agents, and the precariousness of his situation, with an ambition of rendering himself speedily independent, by a rapid increase of military strength and finances, made him sacrifice the most opulent inhabitants to his avarice, and drain the country by severity of exaction, to secure a fund for his future designs or exigencies. From the best authorities I have been able to obtain here, and from the fairest calculates, it seems probable, that Cossim Ally was the cause of a loss of near five crore of rupees, in jewels and specie, to the country, which he either expended in drawing Sujah Dowlah to his assistance, or which was seized by his new ally, or carried off and secreted by him for his future provision.

If we consider that the treasures of the nizamat were so low at this accession, that Meer Jaffier had been necessitated to cede large districts to us in lieu of sums due, whilst his own troops were almost mutinous for want of their pay and arrears; and if to this we add, that Cossim remained in quiet possession of his new dignity no longer than three years; we must at once see that this immense sum was levied immediately from the provinces in the short interval, over and above his heavy current expence; and be sensible how large a proportion this vast drawback must have borne to the country's capital of specie.

The revolution of Meer Jaffier, and the grant of the dewannee to the company by his majesty, rendered the fresh imports of bullion, either by us or foreign companies, less necessary to the maintenance

nance and prosecution of trade, from the same original cause which had existed in 1757; and the increasing restrictions and disadvantages with which the free trade of the native Guzeratta, or Mogul, was daily fettered and loaded, succeeding that confusion which daily revolutions had occasioned, either produced certain bankruptcies, or deterred the more circumspect from embarking at all in commerce to a certain loss. Here then the channel of trade, which had before poured the principal riches to Bengal, began to turn to drain upon it; the whole centered in the Europeans, whose commerce at all times was least to the advantage of the country, because their imports were largest in proportion, and their duties less; and who now added to these a new loss, that of making larger exports than ever, at the country's sole expence. Of the destructive extent of this loss, the following rough comparison of the imports of bullion by the European nations, and their exports of commodities and bullion, for three years past, will awaken the most alarming idea:

Bullion imported by the Dutch at the highest estimate, during that term, at 10 lacks per annum -			30,00,000
Ditto ditto by the French -			00,00,000
Ditto ditto by the English -			00,00,000
Ditto ditto by the Guzeratties, Moguls, &c. - - -			00,00,000
Ditto ditto in gold from Buffarat on private account, at 6 lacks per annum - - -			18,00,000
Brought over			<u>48,00,000</u>

	Carried forward	48,00,000
Ditto ditto by the Danish company		
at $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacks per annum	- -	7,50,000
	Total	<u>55,50,000</u>

Exports for Three Years.

English company in 1766 and 1767, at the lowest calculate	-	107,00,000
Ditto ditto in 1768	- -	70,00,000
Ditto private property, at the rate of 1st. 5,000 per ship, and five ships per annum for three years, at a medium	- - -	6,00,000
Dutch company 1766 and 1767, three ships, public and private amount, at the lowest, 10 lacks per ship	- - - -	60,00,000
Ditto 1768, four ships	- -	40,00,000
French 1766 and 1767, five ships, at 10 lacks per	- - -	50,00,000
French 1768---four ships, at ditto		40,00,000
Danes 1766 and 1767, one ship at 8 each year	- - -	16,00,000
Ditto 1768---two ships, at ditto	-	16,00,000
Spicie exported out of the provinces for the payment of the king's tribute and a brigade at Allahabad, per annum for three years	50,00,000 - -	<u>150,00,000</u>
Carried forward		50100,000

Brought forward	501,00,000
Private exports to China, two lacks per annum	6,00,000
Total	5,61,00,000
From which subtract the imported bullion, agreeable to the estimate just made	55,50,000
And there remains a balance a- gainst the country, of	4,88,50,000

I do not here include the export trade in general of the private European merchants, notwithstanding it is very considerable, because, though they bring in little bullion, yet as they import commodities equal to what they carry, the country is neither much hurt nor much benefited by this traffic, till the merchant comes to realize his gains, in order for his return to his native country; and then the amount of them becomes an addition to the balance against the country, by being paid into some European Company's cash for bills, and by this means rendering it unnecessary for them to import bullion to a risque for the provisions of their investment.

Neither do I include in this account the large sums sent by us to China, Madras, and the other presidencies, because these reduced the company's treasury, rather than the country, and because they were equally lost to the country, if they remained in the treasury, and did not enter into our disbursements or investment, as if they were exported. The king's tribute, on the contrary, and the

the expence at Alláhábád is really so much loss to the circulation, because, as they form a large proportion of our necessary disbursements, so being now made out of the provinces, they must be a similar deduction from their general specie. It will hardly be asserted, that any country, however opulent, could long maintain itself, much less flourish, when it received no material supplies; and when a balance of above one third of its whole yearly value was yearly incurred. But besides this, there are other concomitant circumstances which have contributed to diminish the riches of the country, and must, if not remedied, soon exhaust them. I have observed, that one great advantage the country formerly reaped, was the diffusion of its revenues by large grants to different families, and by the expensive luxury of its governors; but now the whole amount of the lands is swallowed up in one gulph, your treasury. Nor does any part of it return into the circulation, except the sum issued for our investment and necessary expences; so that there ensues an annual loss to the currency equal to the difference between the aggregate of the investment and disbursements, and the total of the revenues. This, if continued, must in time draw in all the specie; and the only remedy for this evil is, either to increase your investments, till, with your disbursements, it equals your revenues, or to import a quantity of specie equal to the difference. The first of these, if practicable, would leave you without a fund for emergency, by advancing the revenues to the aurungs as fast as they were collected; the second, I am afraid, is rather to be wished by us, than to be attempted by you.

I have thus, gentlemen, endeavoured to lay open to you the true sources of the ancient opulence of Bengal, and its present distress. Perhaps you have never been led to consider them in this light; but I am persuaded an impartial examination will evince the justice of my arguments; should they stand the test, they cannot fail of being particularly useful at this juncture, as they will enable you to apply a suitable support where the weakness is pointed out, and to answer the objections and clamours of your enemies. From hence also you will see how much the advantage of your late acquisitions have been exaggerated beyond all bounds, and how far from impossible it was for the honourable East India company to be distressed, though newly become masters of the revenues of a country which stood rated at above three millions per ann. A superficial or weak observer may estimate a country, like an estate, from its rent roll; but the man of experience and reflection, will easily see that its annual income must depend on the proportion of its produce which can be realized in specie; that the intrinsic value of it must fluctuate, as the quantity of specie, which is the measure of it, multiplies or decreases in the kingdom where it is placed.

In this point of view, and after what has been already said, I need add no arguments to demonstrate the reality of our present difficulties, and the certain prospect of our future distress. I have already hinted my apprehensions of your inability to increase your investments of bullion, which are even now looked upon with a jealous eye by the nation, but it is still in your power to oblige others

to import it, or leave you the masters of the Bengal trade. Large sums belonging to your former servants are still lying unremitted, and these must yearly increase, by the fruits of the successful industry of your present ones. If you open your cash upon equitable terms, for remittances for all sums tendered, both national and private considerations, will draw all those into your channel, and cut off the grand resource and advantage of foreign nations---the rivalling you in your trade with your own money. I say equitable terms, because it can never be expected that any one will remit the produce of so many years labours as so great a discount as 1-9th part of his principal below the par of exchange at 2s. 3d. per current rupee; and on the contrary, had you even raised the rate to 2s. 4d. per current rupee, instead of sinking it to us. I dare aver, the company as well as the nation, would have been considerable gainers by the advance. We should then have been able to have sent you home by the next season an investment far superior to that of the present year; whereas policy, or rather necessity, must now oblige us to curtail it to forty or forty-five lacks. I need draw no comparison been the loss of one-ninth on the remittance, and the gain to you of 175 per cent. on such an increase of import; neither need I suggest the difference it occasions to the nation, company, and country, to throw so large a sum into the hands of natural enemies, or lukewarm allies, by a mistaken and injurious œconomy. Do not however, gentlemen, conceive that your servants here are so anxious for remittances through your cash from any private or interested views. The remittances
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of foreign nations must always be more advantageous to them, because they will always keep their terms a little higher than yours, as an inducement, and this must continue till yours are on such a footing as to render a further advance of their rates equal or superior to the insurance and interest on exports of bullion. Then we may hope for some supplies from them to this declining country, and till then our straits and poverty must increase.

We have sent you an investment this year, the produce of which will, we hope, answer every exigency; but we propose to lower the investment for the next season to forty or forty-five lacks, including the seven lacks and upwards now in your ware-houses; and to appropriate the surplus for the establishment of a fund for our own exigencies, and those of the other presidencies. The necessity of this, I need not enlarge upon, the arguments in a letter to us from the gentlemen of Madras, dated March 1st, 1769, and the sentiments of the committee in the last paragraph in their answer thereto, will, I apprehend, be sufficient. The sum ought to amount to a crore of rupees for this presidency, and fifty lacks for the supply of the treasury of Fort St. George; and I would recommend, that after the above fund is secured, the surplus of the revenues, or a considerable part thereof, should be employed on private security of the natives, in loans for the cultivation of waste lands; by which method your possessions would in time become of real value to you; the country would be rendered more populous, the trade increased, by an addition to the manufactories, and the means of realizing your property be more certain,

tain, and less detrimental to the country or the native trader.

Extract of the general Letter from Bengal, dated
25th September, 1769.

“ From experience it is incontestibly evident, that whatever may be the disbursements of the company, the foreign nations or private traders, yet so long as silver is exported from Bengal, and we receive no adequate supplies by importation, we must expect that the want of currency will become still more and more universal. This is not a matter of opinion only, but a judgment founded upon facts, the truth of which is self-evident; and from thence it must clearly appear, that the arguments we have repeatedly urged on this subject were founded on just principles; as for these three or four years past, the foreign nations have ceased to import any considerable sums in bullion. They have purchased their investment with the money supplied by our countrymen for bills on their respective companies, joined to the produce of their imports from Europe. And here we cannot help observing, that your absolute prohibition against receiving money into our treasury for bills of exchange on England, has been one of the principal causes of the present scarcity of silver. But as upon a subject of this importance, not only to the present state, but to the future welfare of your possessions, no opinion should be advanced, which cannot be fully supported, we must beg leave to remark, that although the sums of money exported from hence on your account have been exceeding
great

great, yet had your treasury been open at the usual rate of exchange, no British subject would have embarked his property upon the precarious chance of a foreign remittance. Necessity only obliged them to seek for such channels to realize their fortunes. And had the foreign nations been deprived of the immense sums of private property, which they had received in India during the last four years, they must either have imported bullion into Bengal, to purchase their investments, or the whole trade of their provinces must have fallen into your hands. In either case, your point would have been answered; for if the bullion had been imported by the foreign companies, the progress of that bullion from the mints to your treasury would have been speedy and certain, since all bullion imported for the article of commerce must ultimately center with you, as the proprietors of the revenue. And if no bullion had been imported by the foreign companies, and your treasury had been open to receive every tender for remittance, all sums so received might have been employed in the increase of your investment here, which would have enabled you to pay the amounts of our drafts on your treasury in England, and by this great extension of commerce a very considerable increase would have been made to the revenue of the crown.

Nor are these the only evils which have resulted from our strict obedience to your positive orders on this subject; for besides the degree of rivalry in the trade of India, which the French from these resources only have been able to maintain in Europe, we have the mortification to find, that large
sums

sums have been already disbursed on the fortifications of Pondicherry, and that they are still carrying on very capital works at an immense expence. That the French have secretly exported silver from hence to the Coast, we have not a doubt; but had your treasury been open, the French just then beginning to re-settle a ruined colony, and that too under the disadvantages of a ruined credit, would have found the utmost difficulty to have raised funds sufficient for their investments, and other ordinary expences, without ever attempting to construct such fortifications as may, in some future time, prove of the most material prejudice to your affairs.

Although your orders are so positive for us to furnish your China council with twenty-four lacks of rupees for the service of the year 1770, yet the state of your treasury will, at one view, convince you of our utter inability to give them any assistance whatsoever. We observe, that you have been pleased to export two hundred thousand pounds in specie to China, and have given permission to your China council to draw on you for a like sum for the purposes of the investment. The absolute necessity of providing funds for the purchase of your China cargoes, we presume, could be your only inducement either for your exportation of specie, or your permission to draw bills of exchange.

But here we cannot help remarking, that these very measures point out, in the strongest manner, the unhappy effects of your restrictive orders to us; for it has been made apparent, that if we had been empowered to draw on you, we should either
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have been enabled very considerably to increase your investment from hence, or the foreign companies would have been obliged to export bullion for the purchase of theirs, and in this latter case, the supply of bullion brought into Bengal, would have relieved our apprehensions from the scarcity of currency, and might have impowered us to send a further exportation of bullion to China ; of course, you would not have been under the necessity either of sending specie to China, or granting permission for bills of exchange to be drawn on you from thence.

We are not without well-grounded apprehensions that even the permission which you have granted to your China council, to draw bills of exchange on you, will also contribute to increase the scarcity of silver in these provinces. A mode of remittance to Europe, through your channel, is much preferred before those of any foreign companies ; and individuals will always endeavour to convey their silver to that place, which presents the fairest prospect of realizing their fortunes.

That remittances might have been made from hence upon terms more advantageous to your interest, and less liable to distress your affairs at home, than from any other of your presidencies or factories abroad, will be fully apparent when we assure you, that tenders of very considerable sums would have been made to us for to be paid in three equal payments, at one, two, and three years date, at two shillings and three-pence the current rupee, with an interest of four per cent. until the time of payment ; but although we were conscious that the measures, taken in all its several points of
view,

view, would have been very much to your advantage, yet your prohibition was so absolute, that we declined all overtures for remittances.

And here it is most fitting (but with the utmost deference to your superior judgment) that we lay before you our opinion on your prohibition of bills of exchange, drawn from this place on your treasury at home; for whilst you fix the rate of exchange so much below the par of foreign nations, even the small sum for which you admit drafts to be made, is not filled up, so that, in fact, it amounts to a real prohibition. But, gentlemen, we would submit it to your most mature consideration, in the situation which you now are, the supreme rulers of a rich and fertile kingdom, and the prosperity of that kingdom depending so much on the measures you are pleased to adopt, whether a trifling advantage to be obtained by remittance, is, or ought to be an object in competition with the prosperity of your territorial possessions, from whence you reap such golden harvests. We consider the state of your affairs in these parts in a light widely different from the times when a more commercial interest was your only object; an extensive and beneficial trade was then carried on by means of large exports of bullion from our mother country; but since you have acquired such valuable territorial possessions, your trade from hence may be considered more as the channel for conveying your revenues to Briton, than as only a mercantile system; and as so great a change has been effected in your constitution, that you may preserve the great advantages you now enjoy, and perpetuate them to your latest posterity, we humbly apprehend

hend that the state of your provinces under our
 administration requires every aid you can possibly
 give to encourage the merchant and manufacturer.
 Now it is clear, beyond all contradiction, that to
 enable you annually to collect your revenues in
 specie, there must be annual importations of specie
 into Bengal, as well to supply the currency for that
 specie which is exported, as for what is melted
 down for use, and what is secretly hoarded up by
 individuals, according to the invariable custom of
 the country. You yourselves cannot entertain any
 thoughts of exporting silver into Bengal. Where then
 must we look for our supplies? If we expect the
 few lacks from the gulphs, it must be from the fo-
 reign companies only: but can we flatter ourselves
 with the hopes, that foreign companies will import
 bullion into Bengal, whilst they can raise supplies
 in India from our countrymen, equal to their an-
 nual demands? Should you open your treasury
 doors, you remove the cause of these foreign re-
 mittances, and the effects will cease of course. We
 observe, you express your hopes, that from the
 large amount, for which the foreign companies
 have already drawn in Europe, this mode of re-
 mittance will soon be at an end; but here we
 would wish to remind you, that to the very large
 sums which were ready for remittance in 1765,
 must be added the amount of what has been ac-
 quired since that period; and whilst your influence
 is so extensive, your settlement so flourishing, your
 dependants, who have the advantage of your pro-
 tection, so numerous in this country, the private
 acquisitions of industry amongst so many individuals
 must amount annually to a very considerable sum,
 which

which must sooner or later be remitted through foreign channels, unless your treasury be open to receive it.

You require from us facts, to prove the general scarcity of currency. Right sorry are we, that our situation enables us to produce such incontrovertible evidence. Instead of the seventy or eighty lacks; which you suppose to be annually invested by the private trader, we give you the most positive assurances, that there has not been even twenty lacks advanced for investment in this year, merely for want of silver; and further, we must add, the pressing representations which are made from almost every aurung, that the manufacturer is unemployed, and that, unless advances are made, necessity will oblige him to quit the loom to seek out another mode of obtaining a subsistence; and such is the great stagnation of trade, and the general decay of credit, that the most opulent amongst the native merchants or inhabitants of this presidency, from the great scarcity of silver, find so much difficulty in recovering money they had formerly lent, that they prefer locking up their fortunes in their treasury chests, to lending it at interest, even to the most respectable character amongst your servants.

And whilst we are treating on this subject, we ought not to pass over in silence the very reduced state of your treasury for fifteen months past. At no time, have we had twenty lacks of rupees in advance for the space of a month. On the contrary, demands have been continually made upon us, before we were in a condition to answer them, as fully appears by a reference to the treasury accounts
down

down to this very day ; nay, so much have we been distressed for money, that more than once we have been considerably in arrears to the army, and have been under the necessity of borrowing money on bond for defraying our current expences. You yourselves are of opinion, that it is prudent always to preserve a certain sum in our treasury against contingencies. We concur fully in that opinion, and we think that it would be impolitic to attempt to realize in England the balance of the revenues, before we have formed in Bengal a sufficient fund to answer every sudden or unexpected exigency of the state ; for no power in Indostan depends upon collections in time of war to defray military expences ; and of all the powers in the east, we ought to be the last to adopt such a system, because, as our chief strength consists in infantry, and those of our enemy's in cavalry, our provinces are thereby more exposed to incursions and depredations, which will always affect your collections. In short, without a sufficient fund of money being established, your military force is deficient of its chief support ; since in some future time we may be superior in the field, and yet from this cause we may be reduced to very disagreeable extremities ; and we think, the late distressful situation of your affairs on the coast of Coromandel, is a very striking illustration of this opinion.

As your servants, we have paid an implicit obedience to your positive injunctions on the subject of remittances ; but when those apprehensions, which we formerly expressed of a declining currency, can no longer be treated as speculative, since we now feel in a great degree those evils we long since apprehended

prehended; when we reflect, that so long as this system continues, every year, instead of a relief by importation, adds to the general calamity; when we reflect that our natural enemies the French are grasping at every remittance, and thereby profiting from our impolitic measures; and when we know that bills of exchange to the enormous amount of between five and six hundred thousand pounds sterling, are to be granted by foreign companies to our countrymen in the course of this year, we cannot but express our apprehension of the consequence of your prohibition; and we make no doubt but these our representations will be taken into your most serious consideration.

General Smith hath represented to us, in a letter entered in our consultation of the twenty-fifth inst. that not having yet remitted any part of his fortune through the cash of a foreign nation, he desired to make a tender of three lacks of rupees to be remitted through your cash, at the rate of two shillings and three-pence the current rupee; and to be paid in England at three stated periods, allowing a year between each period, and four per cent interest.

Your orders, regarding remittances, are so peremptory, that we were indispensably obliged to decline the offer. The general, out of a point of delicacy, declined giving any opinion upon a proposal that he himself had made; but at the same time considering it his duty, as a member of the administration, to give his opinion on the subject of remittance in general, hath entered a minute in the consultation of that day.

Extract

Extract of a general letter from Bengal, 25th
January, 1770.

“ It appeared evident to us from your sentiments in your letter of the 17th of March last, that you are desirous of receiving as large an investment from hence, as we can possibly provide, and that by any means that will not distress you at home. Our prospects of the present year's investment, fair as they were, would not admit us to hope we should have it in our power to fulfil your wishes in this point. We therefore conceive it would be a measure you would approve, were we to purchase from private merchants such goods as will answer for the Europe markets by interest notes. Added to this consideration, we had a further motive, which was, that as we had then planned the scheme of opening your treasury, and granting bills upon England, these purchases would assist you to answer the drafts we might make. We therefore came to the resolution of purchasing goods by these means, and have bought up a quantity, to the amount of current rupees 5,30,597. 2. 3.

As the state of your treasure has for some time past been very low, we have paid the amount of the commission on the revenues in bonds, that we might not distress you by paying it in money.

Hence, gentlemen, you will observe, that, notwithstanding all our endeavours, our receipts even in time of tranquility will hardly keep pace with our disbursements. And as appearances daily confirm us more and more of the necessity of a fund for emergencies, we flatter ourselves that you will
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join with us in opinion, that not only policy requires, but prudence will warrant, the application of this considerable sum to our own necessities, rather than those of the French."

Extract of a general letter from Fort William, dated 28th June, 1770.

" Few alterations have happened during this short interval. The famine has continued to rage with all its fatal consequences ; and notwithstanding all our efforts to administer relief, by public contributions to the poor, remission of the collections, and importation from the neighbouring provinces, we have beheld the calamity daily increasing. Your revenues must suffer from it both now and in future, but no endeavours shall be omitted on our parts to render this evil as light and as temporary as possible."

Extract of a general letter to Fort St. George, dated 11th November, 1768.

" The like reasons still subsisting as we gave you in our advices, dated the 11th March last, for limiting the drafts to be made on us ~~from Fort St. George~~, you are therefore hereby ordered, not to exceed the said sum of 30,000l. in those you make on us, by the ships you may dispatch home in the season of 1769, and they must be at the like rate of 7s. 4d. for each current pagoda.

But we do not mean by the above limitation to include the sum of 5000l. which we allow the
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commanders and officers of each of our ships of this season, to pay into our cash on the terms aforesaid, at such settlements whereto they are consigned, that is to say, those who are consigned to Coast and Bay may pay in, at either or both of these presidencies, a sum not exceeding 5000l. for each ship, and those ordered to Bombay are to be confined to the same sum at that presidency, unless our service may require their dispatch from any other, and then any part of their unpaid quota may be received there; and as the commanders and officers of none of our ships are to be allowed more than 5000l. on this account in the whole voyage, the several presidencies must take the necessary care in that respect, by duly advising each other of the sums received from those commanders and officers.

And in regard to those who call at Madras, in their way to China, they are to be restrained to the latter place for paying in theirs. As to the proportions which the officers are to bear with their commanders in the said sum, they are to be settled according to the rates mentioned in the printed indulgence, with respect to their adventures outward; such commanders and officers, therefore, as may apply to you on this occasion, must have certificates granted them in the usual manner, and upon oath, as ordered in our letter of the 21st November, 1766.

As lord Clive is desirous of his attornies paying in at your presidency such sum as they may want for bills on us in part of his jaghire, you must, therefore, on their application, receive the same accordingly, exclusive of the above 30,000l. as likewise such money as may be paid in account of
lord

lord Pigot, as mentioned in the forty-third paragraph.

Extract of general Letter to Fort St. George, 30th
June, 1769.

“ We have seriously reconsidered our former directions upon the subject of bills of exchange, and have given due attention to what you have set forth in your several letters, to shew the inconveniencies resulting from the present restrictions: that the French and Dutch will be supplied with English money, by those who want to remit to Europe, is a natural consequence; and they will, in Bengal, insist upon being paid in silver, seeing silver is the only legal tender that is, or can be in that country; and further, that they will export from thence as much as they think fit, notwithstanding any orders to the contrary, is to be expected.

Such being the evident inconveniencies of our refusal to receive money into our cash for bills to be drawn upon England, it will be said the remedy is in our own hands. If we open our treasury, the French and Dutch will no longer be supplied; they will be under the necessity of importing bullion for their expences and investments, and we shall have it in our power to export to China as much as we think, the circumstances of the country will bear.

We sincerely wish that things could be brought to this state; but the single and unfurmountable objection is, that if bills are drawn to an unlimited amount, we may be put to the utmost distress and difficulty to make good the payments in England;

for this reason we have been under a necessity so to model all our orders upon this subject, as to confine the drafts to some degree of proportion with our investments.

And this rule we must not now lose sight of, although our intention is to extend the power of taking up money as far as it can possibly be carried with any degree of prudence.

Accordingly, having considered the matter fully and maturely, and having granted a further extension of remittances to our servants at Bengal, on account of their increase of investment this year, we are willing to encourage you to do the same; and therefore we do hereby revoke our former orders upon the subject of remittances, and in lieu thereof, we permit and empower you to draw upon us this season for 50,000*l.* and beyond that sum, for the whole amount of the supplies in specie, which you may be able to send to China, to any extent, depending on your zeal and assiduity in extending your investments, in such a manner as may enable us to perform our engagements, and to continue to you the same indulgence in future seasons.

Besides the above sum of 50,000*l.* you may grant certificates to the captains and officers of each homeward bound ship, as far as 5000*l.* each ship, under the express conditions mentioned in the 35th paragraph of our general letter of the 11th November last; but you are, notwithstanding our order of the said 11th November last, paragraph 56, not to include lord Clive's jaghire in the said 50,000*l.* it being our intention that any payment on that account should be made in Bengal only.

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The sum of 50,000*l.* first to be drawn as above-mentioned, is to be divided and applied among the company's servants, civil and military, in such manner as may appear reasonable to you upon an impartial consideration of their several situations and circumstances ; and we shall depend upon your making this disposition in such an equitable manner, as may leave no just cause of complaint.

The China remittances are to be open to free-merchants, or any other persons residing under our protection, as well as to the company's servants, and likewise to whatever sums shall be offered up on account of the estates of deceased persons.

The bills for the sum of 50,000*l.* first above-mentioned, are to be drawn at the rate of 8*s.* per current pagoda, and at 365 days sight ; and the bills for such further sums as shall be sent to China, are to be drawn at the rate of 8*s.* 5½*d.* per current pagoda, payable three years after sight ; this latitude being necessary for enabling the company to bring the amount of the sales of their cargoes into circulation at the time the bills will become due.

You will observe that we have increased the rate of exchange, in proportion to the time allowed for payment ; and this we mean to be ~~in~~ lieu of the interest formerly paid for the exceeding time after the ninety days ; accordingly you are to give the bill-holders to understand that they will not be intitled to any interest upon bills that will be drawn in consequence of these orders."

Extract

Extract of a general letter to Bombay, dated 11th
November 1768.

" The like reasons still subsisting as we gave you in our advices dated 18th March last, for limiting the drafts to be made on us from Bombay, you are therefore hereby ordered not to exceed the said sum of 20,000*l.* in those you make on us by the ships to be dispatched home in the season of 1769, and they must be at the rate of 2*s.* 2*d.* for each Bombay rupee.

But we do not mean by the above limitation to include the sum of 5,000*l.* which we allow the commander and officers of each of our ships of this season, to pay into our cash on the terms aforesaid, at such settlements whereto they are consigned; that is to say, those consigned to your presidency are to be confined to pay in at the several settlements on your coast, a sum not exceeding 5000*l.* for each ship, and those consigned to the coast and bay are to pay the like sum at either or both those presidencies, unless our service may require their dispatch from any other; and then any part of their unpaid quota may be received there. And as the commanders and officers of none of our ships are to be allowed more than 5000*l.* on this account in the whole voyage, the several presidencies must take the necessary care in that respect, by duly advising each other of the sums received from those commanders and officers. And in regard to those who call at Madrafs in their way to China, they are to be restrained to the latter place for paying in theirs. As to the proportions which the officers are to bear
with

with their commanders in the said sum, they are to be settled according to the rates mentioned in the printed indulgence with respect to their adventures outward; such commanders and officers therefore as may apply to you on this occasion, must have certificates granted them in the usual manner, upon their making oath as ordered in our letter of the 21st November 1766.

If the attornies of lord Clive should apply to you to pay in any part of his lordship's jaghire for bills of exchange on us, you are hereby directed to receive the same, which is to be exclusive of the before-mentioned 20,000*l.* which you are permitted to draw upon us by the ships to be dispatched from your side of India."

Extract of a general letter to Bombay, dated 30th June 1769.

" We have seriously re-considered our former directions, upon the subject of bills of exchange, and have given due attention to inconveniencies resulting from the present restrictions: that the French and Dutch will be supplied with English money, by those who want to remit to Europe, is a natural consequence; and that they will in Bengal insist upon being paid in silver, seeing that silver is the only legal tender that is or can be in that country; and further, that they will export from thence as much as they think fit, notwithstanding any orders to the contrary, is to be expected.

Such being the evident inconveniencies of our refusal to receive money into our cash, for bills to be drawn upon England, it will be said, the remedy

medy is in our own hands; if we will open our treasury, the French and Dutch will no longer be supplied, they will be under the necessity of importing bullion for their expences and investment; and we shall have it in our power to export to China, as much as we think the circumstances of the country will bear.

We sincerely wish things could be brought to this state; but the single and unsurmountable objection is, that if bills are drawn to an unlimited amount, we may be put to the utmost distress and difficulty to make good the payments in England; for this reason, we have been under a necessity to model our orders upon this subject, as to confine the drafts to some degree of proportion with our investments.

And this rule we must not now lose sight of, although our intention is to extend the power of taking up money, as far as it can possibly be carried with any degree of prudence.

Accordingly having considered the matter fully and maturely, and having granted a further extension of remittances to our servants at Bengal, on account of their increase of investments this year, we are willing to encourage you to do the same; and therefore we do hereby revoke our former orders, upon the subject of remittances; and in lieu thereof, we permit and empower you to draw upon us this season for 50,000*l.* and beyond that sum, for the whole amount of the supplies in specie, which you may be able to send to China, to any extent, depending on your zeal and assiduity in extending your investments in such a manner as may enable us to perform our engagements, and
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to continue to you the same indulgence in future seasons.

Besides the above sum of 50,000l. you may grant certificates to the captains and officers of each homeward bound ship as far as 5000l. each ship, under the express conditions mentioned in our general letter of the 11th November last; but you are, notwithstanding our orders of the said 11th November, not to include lord Clive's jaghire in the said 50,000l. it being our intention that any payment on that account should be made in Bengal only.

The sum of 50,000l. first to be drawn as above mentioned, is to be divided and applied among the company's servants, civil and military, in such manner as may appear reasonable to you, upon an impartial consideration of their several situations and circumstances; and we shall depend upon your making this disposition in such an equitable manner, as may leave no just cause of complaint.

The China remittances are to be open to free merchants, or any other persons residing under our protection, as well as to the company's servants, and likewise to whatever sums shall be offered upon account of the estates of deceased persons.

The bills for the sum of 50,000l. first above-mentioned, are to be drawn at the rate of 2s. 5d. per Bombay rupee, and at 365 days sight; and the bills for such further sums as shall be sent to China are to be drawn at the rate of 2s. 6d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per Bombay rupee, payable three years after sight; this latitude being necessary for enabling the company to bring the amount of the sales of their cargoes

goes into circulation at the time the bills will become due.

You will observe, that we have increased the rate of exchange in proportion to the time allowed for payment ; and this we mean to be in lieu of the interest formerly paid for the exceeding time after the ninety days ; accordingly you are to give the bill-holders to understand, they will not be entitled to any interest upon the bills that will be drawn in consequence of these orders."

~~Surat~~ of the East-India Company's Advice, received from their President and Council of Bombay

General Letter, 26th February, 1770.

" From the whole tenor of your advices for a considerable time past, your honours will have perceived the great distress we have laboured under for money to provide the necessary investments, defray our expences, and supply our other unavoidable wants ; the only resource we have had for this purpose, has been drawing on your servants in Bengal for such sums as we have been able to procure for our bills on them ; but these have at last failed us ; for notwithstanding your servants have assured us, they will honour our drafts to any amount, and desired us to draw, even at a higher rate of exchange than might be given by private merchants, we cannot procure any money here for bills on Bengal, and your servants at Surat write us in answer to our orders to that effect, that they had little prospect of procuring any considerable

rable sum there, not having been able to complete the five lacks we have since empowered them to draw for, notwithstanding the permission given them to raise the exchange as above set forth. On the 2d instant, an estimate of cash wanted until the end of October next, no part of which could be dispensed with, was laid before us; when it appeared we should at least require, until that time, the sum of rupees 12,25,937. 2. 33, of which so large a part as rupees 8,49,232. 2. 21 is wanted before the end of May; on considering of which, together with the impossibility, as above set forth, of our availing ourselves of the only expedient, we have for some time past had to raise money, we determined, as the sole means left for procuring such a sum, to forthwith grant bills on your honours, at the rate of 2s. 5d. to your servants, and 2s. 3d. to all others; and issue public notice, that we would grant bills at this rate, to the amount of four lacks of rupees, per Fox, and receive such further sums as might be tendered, to run at interest until the departure of the first ship of next season, when bills would be granted for the same at the above rate, the whole at 90 days sight, payable in twelve months, carrying an interest of three per cent. per annum, after the expiration of the said ninety days: we were the more readily induced to adopt this measure, from reports we had received, that the Lapwing brings orders from your honours, to give bills upon you; besides which, private letters from Madras, which may be depended on, mention, that your servants at Calcutta had opened their treasury to receive money, to bear an interest of eight per cent. per annum until December next,

when they engage to give bills on you for whatever sums may be so paid in, at the rate of two shillings the current rupee to your servants, and two shillings and two pence halfpenny to all others; but even this would not have prompted us to draw immediately, or until the orders per Lapwing arrived, had we not been in actual want of three lacks of rupees to send to Tellicherry and Anjengo (without which your investments there would be at an entire stand) and many drafts on the treasury for our monthly expences unpaid, as appears by the report of our treasury, entered on our consultations under the above date; about rupees one hundred fifty thousand per month, being required for this last; and our balance then in the treasury being only rupees 38,887. 3; upon the whole, therefore, we flatter ourselves your honours will approve our conduct upon this occasion, and rest assured, nothing but the exigencies of your affairs would have induced us to exceed the amount you have been pleased to order us to draw for in one season, or the rate of exchange prescribed by you; but it was utterly out of our power to borrow, or by any other means to procure money; and even this method, so great is the scarcity of specie, has not yet been attended with the wished-for success, only Rs. 1,89,670. 2. 80, having been to this day paid in for bills by the Fox, to this day. The terms on which we have agreed to draw, your honours will be pleased to observe, are upwards of three per cent. more favourable to your honours than those granted at Bengal; but, as we flattered ourselves we should procure sufficient at this rate.

it was and is our duty to obtain it, on the most advantageous terms in our power."

General Letter, 26th April 1770.

"We have in our address of the 26th of February, by the way of Grand Cairo and Buffora, and of which a transcript is in the packet, been so very full and particular, as to our resolution of drawing upon your honours by this ship, and our motives for it, that we deem it unnecessary to repeat the same here, and shall therefore only now advise the particular bills we have drawn in consequence; and acquaint your honours, that we shall, in future, conform to your commands of the 30th of June last, on this subject; and in the mean time have issued public notice of the terms on which you allow us to draw; and shall receive money, to bear an interest until the bills are granted, which our urgent necessities oblige us to. The bills we have now drawn are as follows; to which we request you will shew due honour,"

Nine sets drawn at the rate of two shillings and three-pence, amounting to

L. sterling

7939 14 6

Eleven ditto, at two shillings and

five-pence, amounting to

41154 7 5

The attornies to colonel Hector Munro having addressed us a letter, setting forth, that they had a considerable sum of money of his to remit home, and desiring the same might be received at convenient servants rate of exchange, which they were well

well assured your servants at Bengal had promised the colonel, who had acquired this money in your service; we concurred with them, that the colonel seemed entitled to some indulgence; but, that your honours might have it in your power to indulge him or not, we determined only to grant certificates for the same; which we have done accordingly for such part of his money as has been received; and shall, by the next ship, grant another set, for the remainder, on its being sworn to be the colonel's property. We have also granted ~~some~~ certificates to the commanders and officers of your ships agreeable to your orders; and the following is a list of all we have granted by this ship:

Seven sets certificates, amounting to
 rupees, - - - 99,577-94

We were in hopes, by the departure of this ship, to have procured money sufficient to have completed the sums wanted for Tellichery and Anjengo, according to the estimates we have received, being two lacks (200,000) for the former, and fifty thousand (50,000) for the latter; but it was with the utmost concern we found, on examining the state of our treasury in consultation, yesterday, the whole amount therein, in rupees, gold, and fanams, was no more than rupees 115,044. 2, exclusive of which, we have, for our current expences, outstanding bills from Surat to the amount of rupees seventy-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty-six and three quarters (78,936.3.) This being our situation, we cannot possibly spare more than one lack, (100,000) for the Coast settlements,

lements, by this ship, and part of that too in the current money of this place, neither new or wasted rupees, or gold, being at present procurable in town. Thus circumstanced; we are at a loss to fall upon an expedient to obviate the distress we are likely to be in on this account; for though in consequence of our having sent three lacks (300,000) rupees in treasure upon the lord Camden to China, we might have availed ourselves by this opportunity of the latitude you give us in your commands of the 30th June last, to draw for all such sums as we may send to China, at the rate of two shillings and six-pence halfpenny (2s. 6(d.) per rupee, and three years sight; yet it is with concern, we are to advise, not a rupee has been offered on these terms, nor do we think there is the least probability that any ever will. To what amount we may receive before the rains, for goods sold, we cannot possibly ascertain, but fear, as the season is now far advanced, no great sum can be expected; and are therefore very apprehensive we shall have no other resource for supplying our pressing occasions for money, than deviating from your last orders respecting drafts to be given on you; but this we shall not do but with the greatest reluctance, and unless there should be an absolute and unavoidable necessity, to assist the Coast settlements; and in some measure to make up for the deficiency in the remittance we ought now to make them, we, by this conveyance, give the chief and factors of Tellicherry permission to draw on your honours, on the same terms as we have drawn on your honours; on the same terms as we have drawn; to give bills on

us, or to take up money at interest; all which we hope you will approve.

25th July, 1770.

Your honours were advised, in our address per Fox, of the great distress we were in for money, and the necessity we should probably be under of deviating from your orders respecting the rate of exchange you had fixed upon bills to be drawn on you: it is with the utmost concern we are now to acquaint you, that our apprehensions have proved to be too well founded; for on the 19th ultimo our treasury was reduced to rupees 161. 1. 31, and outstanding drafts unpaid to the amount of rupees 62,243. 1. 62; and as, notwithstanding our resolution of the 17th April, for receiving money for bills on the terms prescribed by your honours, in your commands of the 30th of June 1769, and to bear an interest until the bills were granted, not a rupee had been received into the treasury, we found ourselves under the disagreeable necessity of adhering to our former terms of two shillings and five pence to company's servants, and two shillings and three pence to all others, &c. as granted on your honours per ship Fox; but being in immediate want of money, we, in hopes of procuring a speedy supply, agreed to give two shillings and four pence to private persons, for all sums paid in within a month from that day; notwithstanding which we have not received more than rupees 39,684—14. We have, however, since received bills from Surat, for rupees 2,33,750. 3. 8, in part of a supply of four lacks remitted by your servants at Ben-

gal

gal, by bills upon that place, which has served for our present wants; but as our exigencies will require a further considerable sum, we shall continue drawing on them, and have desired them to remit as opportunities offer; by which means we hope we may not have occasion to draw so much upon your honours, which you may rest assured nothing but unavoidable necessity will induce us to do, though the providing our investments, and the large drafts we may now shortly expect from Mocha, will, we fear, require a larger sum than we shall be able to raise by bills on Bengal, and we have at present no other resource."

General Letters 3 December, 1770.

"The several minutes on our diary now transmitted, on the subject of money, will fully shew to your honours the great distress we have at times been in on this account. Notwithstanding we have been supplied from Bengal, since the Fox's departure, with no less a sum than rupees 7,60,509. 2. 80, by drafts from thence and Surat, and remittances from your servants, we on the 19th June were reduced to a balance of rupees 161. 1. 31, besides drafts unpaid to the amount of rupees 62,243. 1. 64; and as, notwithstanding our resolution of the 17th April, for receiving money for bills upon the terms prescribed by your honours, in your commands of the 30th June, 1769, and to bear an interest until the bills were granted, no money had till that time been tendered to us, it appeared therefore to us indispensably necessary to adhere to our former terms of 2s. 5d. to your honours,

nours servants; and 2s. 3d. to all others; nay more, that we should grant the latter 2s. 4d. for all monies paid in within a month, in hopes of procuring a supply of cash for our immediate wants, which we had no prospect of doing but by this means; we therefore issued public notice accordingly; notwithstanding which, little or no money was paid in; and on the 7th September, a calculate of cash wanted till the end of May was laid before us, whereby it appeared, we should require upwards of one million five hundred thousand (1,500,000) rupees by that time, three of which we had wrote for to be sent in specie from Bengal; and by a letter then before us from Surat, we had reason to expect two lacks (200,000) from thence; but as this fell so very short of the above sum, we determined, as the most certain means which occurred to us for relieving our wants, to write to the president and council of Fort William, to remit us, exclusive of what they might send in specie, six lacks by bills of exchange, and to draw upon your honours for what further sums we might want; but as we could not expect to receive any money from Bengal sooner than March, before which it appeared evident from the estimate, we should want near twelve (12) lacks of rupees, we found ourselves under the disagreeable necessity of continuing the exchange to private persons at 2s. 4d. but on re-considering the affair, and having hopes of a supply for our immediate wants, by other means, we deferred carrying into execution that resolution until the 28th; when it appearing to us unavoidable, and it being considered, that your honours lost six and a half ($6\frac{1}{2}$) per cent. by the exchange.

change on Bengal, while the loss arising from the increase of one penny in the rupee, was not more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. we determined to continue the exchange at that rate; but in order to deter private persons from withholding their money, in hopes of our necessities obliging us still to increase it, we expressly declare, that on no consideration whatever it would be raised further; and by the list of bills drawn by these ships, inserted in this letter, your honours will perceive the sum paid in at this rate.

Finding on the 26th of October, by a letter from your servants at Surat, that we had little reason to expect any considerable supply from thence, for bills on Bengal, even at a half per cent. more disadvantageous to your honours than what mentioned in the preceding paragraph, exclusive of a further loss in the remitting the same here, the president offered to our consideration some observations, which had occurred to him on the subject, and which are entered at length on our proceedings that day, and an attested copy thereof, and of the minute made thereon, transmitted in the packet, in which he sets forth the necessity of raising the exchange, as the means most beneficial to your interest, and the only remedy of enabling us to procure a sufficient sum for our exigencies: and proved, that by drawing on your honours at 2s. 4d. and 2s. 6d. instead of giving bills on Bengal, at the exchange which your servants at Surat have lately done, your honours would save 10 per cent. at the first, and even $8\frac{1}{2}$ at the last, exclusive of which your honours complain, of a loss even of four (4) per cent. sustained on Bengal bills,

bills, and direct us to avoid such loss in future. He likewise remarked the reluctance you express in your commands of the 30th of June 1769, to our drawing on you for more than 50,000l. or at most, the additional sum the Camden might have carried to China in specie, which was three lacks of rupees, solely from a difficulty you apprehended might arise to you, in the payment of drafts to an unlimited amount, though convinced, as you are pleased to add, of that being most consistent with your real interest. Your orders in respect to the rate of exchange we had before been obliged to deviate from ; the other difference now in question amounted to about five lacks ; and as we shall dispatch, during this year, not less than five ships, exclusive of that from Mocha, whose cargo amounts to rupees 2,79,790. 2. 30, each of whose invoices, computed from those of the three dispatched last year ; viz. Deptford, Speaker and Fox, may be estimated at rupees 2,32,104. 3. 47, each ; making together rupees 11,60,574. 1. 35, and with the addition of the Mocha ship, 14,40,364. 3. 65, and your honours will have one year and ninety days after acceptance to satisfy them ; in which the produce of three ships cargoes more than usual, that will be consigned your honours this season, would considerably more than furnish means of doing : the president for all these reasons therefore concluded, that a measure in all other respects so evidently for your advantage, must and would meet with your highest approbation, and therefore proposed it ; but, that your honours might be convinced he did not mean to avail himself of your necessities, merely for his own advantage, he agreed.

agreed to pay in such sums as he might want to remit at the present rate of 2s. 5d. and leave it to your honours to grant him the additional penny in the rupee, in consideration of the seasonable supply it would afford to your affairs, without which your ships must remain in India, or return home without cargoes.

The president's observations appeared to us in every respect so just, and his proposals so disinterested, and so evidently for your honours interest, as every method had been tried for raising money without effect, and we were perfectly convinced we could not possibly by any other means supply our exigencies, that we determined to accept it, and to grant the president recommendatory bills for whatever sums he might pay in accordingly, which we have done for the sum of rupees 1,56,227. 2. 66, paid in since that time; and we are most strenuously to recommend to your honours to make good the same to him in England, at the rate of 2s. 6d. in consideration of his affording such a seasonable supply; and such sums as have been paid in by covenant servants since, have been received on the same terms, and will be continued, until the amount we are in want of shall be completed.

Upon the above occasion, Mr. Taylor delivered in a letter, proposing a mode of easing the place in point of currency, by issuing bills from the bank on loans upon the present security; which, though we were of opinion it would not be any immediate remedy to the present great scarcity of specie, it would be attended with great future convenience to the trade of the island, exclusive of

of the great advantage your honours will derive from the interest arising on the amounts; we therefore determined to carry Mr. Taylor's proposal into execution, by issuing notes to the amount of the debt the treasury owes the bank, being, with interest, about eight lacks (800,000) of rupees, and the notes to be from forty to one thousand rupees, each signed by the managers of the bank, and sealed with your seal: but the president afterwards talking on this subject to Mr. Robert Blachford, whom your honours permitted to come to India, to settle the late Mr. Spencer's affairs, and who was bred to the banking business, he desired to deliver in some hints on the subject of the proposed plan, which he did accordingly; and we referred the same, with Mr. Taylor's letter, to the consideration of the committee of accounts, who reported their opinion to us, but we have not yet come to a final resolution thereon; this, however, we shall do in a few days, and you may rest assured, we shall duly weigh every circumstance, before we take any measures upon a matter of this importance.

In hopes of your servants at Madrafs being able to assist us with some money in our present scarcity, we have set forth to them our distress, and requested they will advise us if they can supply us with any, and to what amount.

We have drawn the following sets of bills of exchange on your honours at ninety-eight days sight, and, if not then paid, to bear an interest of three (3) per cent. per annum, from the expiration of the said ninety days, untill the end of one year, when they are to be made good, no money having been paid

paid to us, or expected by us, from the 10th March to the 19th June, on the terms prescribed by your honours, per Lapwing, as will fully appear by our consultation of the latter date; to all which we request you will shew due honour.

One set of bills of exchange drawn at the rate of two shillings and three-pence per rupee, amounting to	L. sterling	536	4	8
Thirty-eight sets of bills of exchange drawn at the rate of two shillings and four-pence per rupee, amounting to		25,647	5	
Twenty sets of bills of exchange drawn at the rate of two shillings and five-pence per rupee, amounting to		28,801	9	5

The following recommendatory letter being drawn, in consequence of our resolution of the 26th October, as fully stated to your honours, you will be pleased to discharge the same accordingly.

Ten sets of bills of exchange drawn at the rate of two shillings and five-pence, but recommended to be paid at two shillings and six-pence, amounting to	Rupees	2,41,985.	3.	70
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We have likewise drawn the following certificates on your honours, which you will please to discharge.

Eleven

Eleven sets of certificates, amounting to Rupees 1,09,894 3 68

We have received from the attorney of colonel Hector Monro, a further sum of rupees 13,913 2 25, for which we have granted him a set of certificates, agreeable to our resolution of the 10th April last.

General Letter, 26th February, 1771.

N. B. This being received before the following letter of the 4th, is the reason why it is placed first.

Notwithstanding the several methods we have tried to procure a sufficient supply of money to carry on our investments, as also for our current expences, we find ourselves greatly distressed for money for both ; more particularly as no bills are yet arrived from your servants in Bengal ; and as by a report of our treasury, laid before us in consultation, under the 18th instant, it appeared there was only a balance then remaining therein of rupees 18. 3. 66 ; and there was then due from it, rupees 1,29,597. 2. 79, and at the same time we were in want of large sums to supply the coast settlements, or no cargoes could be expected to be provided there, if not shortly supplied, for the ships of the ensuing season, as well as for the Northumberland's stock to Canton, and the beginning of another month was also approaching, when large sums of money would be indispensably wanted by the several paymasters for the monthly disbursements : we therefore determined, as the only resource

resource, to receive money at interest, either here or at Surat, to the amount of two lacks of rupees for the present; and public notice was given of our resolution. But we are sorry to acquaint your honours, that such is the scarcity of specie, that to this time we have only received rupees 12,725. on this account.

General letters, 4th February 1771.

"Your honours were advised, in our address of the 4th ultimo, of our intentions to issue notes from the bank; but having referred the same to the consideration of the committee of accounts, we were of opinion, in consequence of their report, that it could not be done without a flowing treasury, and therefore determined to defer it for the present.

We likewise mentioned to your honours in our address, an application to your servants at Madras to assist us with money; but are sorry now to advise, that instead of being able to afford us assistance, they are apprehensive they shall not have sufficient for their own occasions, and have wrote accordingly to your servants in Bengal, in hopes that they may be able to assist them. We have the pleasure to add, those gentlemen acquaint us under the 28th November, that they should endeavour to furnish us by bills upon Surat, with the nine lacks we desired; but as we cannot possibly receive more than two lacks and a half before the end of May, at soonest, it will not by any means answer our purpose of securing the necessary investment of pepper, sandal wood, and cardamoms, or even
our

our current expences, for all which advances ought now to be made; but the want of specie, which your servants in Bengal write they cannot supply us with, puts this out of our power, our treasury being now so low that we cannot supply your servants at Tellichery with a rupee, notwithstanding we, on the third ult. previous to the receipt of the above letter from Bengal, took into consideration how very inadequate the sums then received for bills and certificates on your honours had been found to our wants; and that the terms on which the recommendatory bills were granted to covenant servants, had proved so disagreeable to individuals, from their very uncertain tenor, that we had not the least prospect of procuring any further sum on those terms in future; and therefore determined to raise the exchange to covenant servants from 2s. 5d. to 2s. 6d. per rupee, as the only resource we had left for procuring the money indispensibly necessary for enabling us to carry on the affairs under our management. We therefore flatter ourselves your honours will not disapprove this measure, on considering the extreme urgency of the case, and our having tried every other possible expedient for procuring money, as has at different times been noticed to your honours; and we are now determined not to raise the exchange farther upon any pretence whatever. We have accordingly drawn the following bills on the above terms, to which you will please shew due honour.

Sixteen sets of bills of exchange,
drawn at the rate of two shil-
lings and six-pence per rupee,
amounting to — £. sterling 13,428 1 6

We have likewise drawn the following bills at
two shillings and four-pence, which you will please
to discharge.

Sixteen sets of bills of exchange,
drawn at the rate of two shil-
lings and four-pence per ru-
pee, amounting to — 7,256 9

The undermentioned two sets of bills have like-
wise been granted, by this opportunity, at two
shillings and five pence, which we request your
honour will discharge.

Two sets of bills of exchange,
drawn at the rate of two shil-
lings and five-pence per rupee,
amounting to — 668 19 6

Copy of sundry Paragraphs of general Letters from
the Court of Directors to the Governor and Conn-
cil of Bengal, dated 23d March, 1770, relative
to Fortifications and other public Buildings.

“ We have carefully attended to the conduct of
those our servants, with whose negligence or dis-
honesty at Burrampore, we have reason to be dissa-
tisfied. And we are of opinion, that, as it was the
indispensable duty of the chief at Cossimbuzar, so
• Vol. IV. 3 O it

It it was also, in a great measure, in his power, either to have prevented the commission, or long continuance at least, of almost all those frauds which have taken place ; and thereby that enormous excess of expence, which has been incurred at Burrampore, would have been avoided. Mr. Sykes, who had the inspection of the accounts monthly, might, without difficulty, have detected almost every imposition, had he paid proper attention to that part of his duty which related to inspecting the said accounts ; because, by an immediate reference to the then current price, all overcharges in materials might have been immediately ascertained ; which could not, with the greatest application, be so precisely or satisfactorily done twelve months afterwards. And as to his plea of other business having engrossed his time, it is by no means such an excuse, which we can admit in his justification ; he ought to have made an early representation of that circumstance to you ; and indeed, you should have originally appointed a person well qualified for such undertaking to superintend the works, and prevent impositions ; knowing as you did, that Mr. Syke's avocations in our service, did not afford him sufficient leisure for inspecting them so closely as might have been done.

Although we much approve your conduct, from the time the enquiry has commenced to that of its being compleated, yet we can by no means persuade ourselves, that it was altogether blameless in you to suffer so long the abuses to be continued, before effectual enquiry was made concerning them. We say effectual enquiry, because we observe, Mr. Forbes alledges in his defence, that
his

his monthly accounts had been examined, and received the entire sanction of the chief at Cossimbuzar; been approved by the council of that place, and by the committee of accounts at your presidency; and that no deficiencies appeared, till near twelve months after such approvals: and Mr. Palk, we find, also makes established custom the only plea for his overcharges.

As we cannot suppose those persons, whose duty it was to inspect the accounts, to have been unqualified for such trust, in point of knowledge, without impeaching the conduct of our governor and council, who appointed them to that office; so, on the other hand, supposing them sufficiently intelligent, and capable of filling the station in a proper manner, we cannot but deem them to have been guilty of notorious negligence, or great unfaithfulness, when they audited and approved accounts so very fraudulent as those of Mr. Forbes appear to have been.

We are aware, that a man who could so far deviate from duty as Mr. Forbes has done, may be supposed capable of writing in the stile he wrote to you, even admitting there was no foundation in fact, for many of his very extraordinary assertions: nevertheless we cannot but wish, that you had plainly and fully replied to that part of his defence, where he affirms, "That he is thoroughly
" convinced his transactions will bear the test of
" any comparison you may choose to make with
" the accounts of any gentleman who holds an
" office of this nature under the company; and
" desires the reasonableness of his charge may be
" determined by some such standard."

Whate-

Whatever audacity there may appear on the part of Mr. Forbes, in the above declaration and request, yet we confess in our opinion, that such charge as is implied therein, ought to have been openly and fully refuted, and not barely contradicted, which is all that has been done by you, You seem to make Mr. Forbes's reflections on the service in general part of your reason for the sentence which you pass upon him ; but we repeat it, we believe you ought rather (to us, at least) to have proved, that Mr. Forbes's plea of established custom, for any part of the undue advantages made by him, was groundless. We are the more particular herein, as we think it was a proper opportunity for you to shew, that all that zeal for the good of our service, which you profess, has indeed been by you exercised.

But however alarming it may be to find, that the buxies, who were persons, some of them, of long standing in our service, have abused their trust ; and that the overcharges of those, whose proper province it was to have guarded our property at Burrampore from the designs of any who might attempt to defraud us, have amounted to no less sum than two lacks of rupees : yet we observe, that those overcharges are a very trivial loss, in comparison of the whole sustained by means of the indiscretions exercised relative to the cantonments at Burrampore.

When lord Clive and council came to a resolution to have the cantonments erected ; and ordered the chief at Cossimbuzar to supply the materials, make the necessary advances, pay the people employed

ployed, and transmit the accounts monthly ; it was expressly ordered, that the whole expence should not exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacks of rupees, or three at the most. In consequence of that order, the building was undertaken, and carried on till twelve lacks were expended : It was then judged needful to alter and enlarge the plan ; by which alteration great part of the works already in forwardness became almost wholly useless ; to the amount at least, as the engineer says, of three compleat lacks, besides the additional expence occasioned by the alterations ; and the completion of the whole, it was then computed, would, over and above the twelve lacks expended, amount to seventeen lacks more. Those seventeen lacks we find however reduced to about ten lacks, in the new calculation made by captain Watson ; and therefore it appears, we may now expect the whole to be completed for about twenty-two lacks of rupees.

It is very observable, that in the first design of the cantonments at Burrampore, it was intended to accommodate the seapoys, as well as the European troops ; but proceedings having been carried on, in order thereto, for a year or more, you then determined not to have any barracks for seapoys. By that resolution, the rafters which had been framed for those works, the foundations, which were compleatly sunk, and some of which were finished with brick work to the level of the ground, were also rendered useless. It seems very strange to us, but it is nevertheless true, that no calculated estimate of any of the works, appears to have been made by any person whatever, till those given by
lieute-

lieutenant Mestayer, in 1768, and by captain Watson, who was sent to enquire into the state of the cantonments, after so immense an expence had been incurred, and to so little purpose.

Notwithstanding there might not be the same necessity for the seapoys to be accommodated, in order to attach them to our interest, as well as the Europeans, it will scarcely be credited, that our servants should drop that part of the intended work, and yet venture to increase the given expences to the immoderate degree they have done ; thus sporting with the property of the company, to the additional amount of near twenty lacks of rupees, as has been the case, and yet leave out so very considerable a part of the whole as the accommodation of the seapoys must have been, had that plan been persevered in.

We observe with astonishment, that on the first onset of the building no less than fifteen sets of unnecessary subalterns apartments, were laid out, and carried on, till captain Watson reported them in that light to the council at Cossimbuzar : they were then by him desired to be discontinued ; but on account of an increase of the military establishment, you have judged these apartments necessary, and ordered that they should be compleated. However this may now be justifiable in you, still it leaves those persons wholly inexcusable, who permitted such superfluous apartments at first to be begun, when there was not the least probability of their being wanted. Had the expence incurred by building these supernumerary officers apartments been frugally applied towards providing comfortable shelter for the poor seapoys, less apology would have

have been necessary for venturing to exceed the sum so expressly fixed by lord Clive and council, not to be on any account exceeded in erecting the cantonments at Burrampore. We hope your future watchfulness and frugality, in finishing the said works, will compensate, as far as may be, for that remissness (for such we must term it) which has suffered past enormities to grow to such incredible extent, and remain so long undetected.

We are dissatisfied with the conduct of colonel Martin, whose report being untrue, did certainly, in the first instance, mislead the council at Cossimbuzar; and we believe your sentiments communicated to colonel Martin, on his behaviour on that transaction, to be just; and that, had he not resigned his commission, it would undoubtedly have been your duty to have dismissed him our service.

In regard to Mr. George Williamson, his unfaithfulness admits not the least excuse; and the abuses by him practised in his contract for timbers, renders him utterly unworthy to be any longer entertained in our service, from which, we hereby direct, that he be dismissed. We approve your having taken security for the deficient timbers; and also direct, that he be not permitted to leave India until he shall have fully paid whatever may be due from him to the company, or given to you such farther security for the same as shall be to your entire satisfaction.

The overcharges of Mr. Forbes at Burrampore, and his extortions and oppressions at Bunleah, have been so very extraordinary, that we much approve your having dismissed him our service. His carriage during the enquiry made into his conduct, and his burning
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his papers previous thereto, evinced such signs of guilt, as could not fail placing him in the most disadvantageous light. The issue has proved him deserving every mark of our displeasure. We direct, therefore, that the suit instituted against Mr. Forbes, in the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, be vigorously prosecuted; and that no relaxation or abatement whatever be made of all such sums of money, and costs of suit, as may be decreed by the said court to be due from Mr. Forbes, either to the company or to the pykars, in consequence of his overcharges and abuses at Burrampore, or of his undue exactions and great oppressions of the said pykars at Bauleah: and as you inform us you have taken ample security, that Mr. Forbes do not leave India until the suit be decided, or that he will, should he leave India before that time, leave sufficient value to answer our just demands in case he may be cast; we direct, that on no account whatever you suffer the said security to be discharged, until our aforesaid orders relative to Mr. Forbes shall have been fully carried into execution, and all the money which may be legally obtained by such prosecution be actually paid by Mr. Forbes, or the said securities.

Lieutenant Mestayer has been so grossly deficient in superintending the works at Burrampore, and so unfaithful in his report relative to the timbers bought of Mr. Williamson, that for those instances of this misconduct we should deem him worthy of dismissal: but as we observe also, that his obstinacy, in having refused to give information, on oath, of such frauds as might be within his knowledge, was a further aggravation of such
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his misconduct, we can on no account permit his stay in our service; we therefore direct that he be dismissed, and that his bond, given for the amount of the share he had in the duties, be paid, or proper security taken for the payment thereof, before he be permitted to leave India.

On your consultations of the 23d February 1769, we observe proposals from several persons for supplying your committee of works with such timbers and planks as might be requisite for your fortifications; and we must here express our approbation of your conduct, in taking time to obtain the fullest information in a matter of so much importance. But sensible as we are, that it would be in vain for us to offer any opinion on a point which must have been long since determined (even had we sufficient lights to direct our judgment) yet we cannot avoid expressing our astonishment at the great difference which appears in the amount of the several proposals offered to your committee; some of which are near double, and one almost treble, the terms of the lowest offer.

As no reasons appear to us for this extraordinary difference, we can only judge of it from the face of the several proposals; and we, therefore, fear with concern to what attacks the company's property is exposed, from the insatiable thirst of gain which some would not scruple to gratify. Our security, however, rests on your judgment and integrity, which we hope and trust to find answerable to the confidence we repose in your administration of our affairs.

Errors excepted.

SAMUEL WILKS.

June 19, 1773.
Vol. IV.

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Fort William, 3d January, 1772.

At a Consultation ; Present,

The hon. John Cartier, Esq; President,

<i>Samuel Middleton,</i>	<i>Philip M. Dacres,</i>
<i>William Alderfey,</i>	<i>Thomas Lane, Esqrs.</i>

The president begs leave to make the following remarks on the extraordinary letter from major Henry Watfon, referred to the board by the military committee.

“ I am sensible, gentlemen, that the letter now laid before us, for our consideration, is of that serious nature which requires a clear, candid, and impartial explanation, to justify our conduct before our honourable masters ; for if no answer should be made, it is most likely that the specious arguments set forth by major Watfon will be received as certain facts, and we considered to have dealt unfaithfully towards them, or partially towards another.

The terms entered into with the brick contractors of last year, were judged the most favourable as well as equitable, that ever had before been offered to the company, and there was not the least hesitation made by the board in accepting them in preference to any other that was offered. The terms, as you must well remember, were, that the contractor should deliver eleven inch bricks to the company, at 6s. 8d. per thousand ; that the
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advances of money should not be made to him, but the bricks paid for on delivery. On the part of the company, it was agreed, that they should provide fire-wood for the use of the contractor at a certain rate, which he was to account for to them at particular periods of his contract. The contractor was to deliver three croze of bricks in the course of the season. The collector general was requested to make contracts with responsible inhabitants, for a quantity of fire-wood adequate to the burning of so many bricks, as it was imagined the whole would be cut in the districts of his department. The difficulty of engaging men to undertake the whole of this contract occasioned a considerable part of the fine season to elapse, before the deliveries of wood were in any proportion to the demand for that article by the brick contractor; and, when all their agreements were made, some weeks interruption occurred in the Ingelee districts that greatly retarded this business. This occasioned not only an immediate, but a heavy loss to the contractor, who, concluding that his supply of fire-wood would be ready and sufficient, had many lacks of raw bricks on the ground in January last, that were entirely destroyed by two days rain which fell at that time. The remainder of the season, you must all remember, was wet, and unfavourable for the making of bricks, and the supply of wood was then not equal to the demand of the brick contract.

Before the expiration of the brick contract, the contractor addressed the military committee, setting forth the disappointments he had suffered, in different ways, during the period he held the contract;

tract; and requesting, that he might either have the contract continued to him for the ensuing season, or some consideration made him for losses and disappointments, neither of which had been occasioned by any neglect or inattention of his own. The military committee, fully convinced of the justness of the contractor's representations, were more inclined to give him the contract for the ensuing year, as a compensation for his losses, than any recompence in money; and they were the better disposed to this measure from the just and equitable terms of the contract in the former season, and the general approbation it met with.

I have thought necessary so far to premise, that it may clearly appear wherefore the military committee have thought themselves obliged to consider the late contractor as entitled to a preference with them in the disposal of the present year's contract; and by a particular detail of facts to overset those insinuations of a defect of zeal to the interest of our honourable employers, which seem to be implied in the address now before us.

I must do major Watson the justice to say, that his proposals are clear, and equally equitable with those of the late contractor, and by them, if the honourable company should ever purchase the docks, a considerable saving should be made on account of the omission of any charge for the excavation of that earth which would be necessary in making the bricks. But if the docks should not be purchased by the company, the terms of each contract stand exactly on the same footing, excepting only the encouragement which I consider to be the duty of government to give to a work of this nature, and to
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him who conducts it. Were major Watson's terms ever so low, his profession, and being a servant of the company, would entirely disqualify him, by a standing order of the company's, from holding any contract ; but as he is engaged in a work of public utility, in which a great expence, as well as a great risque is incurred, I consider, that the board may have a power in such an instance to wave this particular prohibition : and I must observe, that had the former contractor met with no disappointments, from a failure in our part of the last contract, I should not have had any difficulty in my mind to prefer major Watson's proposals to any other : but such being the case, it was my opinion, that something was due to the former contractor ; and I judge, that to give him half the contract for the present year, on the same terms it was held the preceding, would be the best, the cheapest, and most equitable mode of affording him a just satisfaction ; and that major Watson should have the grant of the other part of the contract, viz. for burning one crore and a half of bricks. This has been tendered to him, but he has thought proper absolutely to refuse it, and for the reasons which carry their force more in words than in facts, and are intended more to convey a very specious idea of the moderate spirit, and the nicer feelings of humanity, than I can think justly due to that gentleman : if I mistake not, major Watson engaged to provide two crore of bricks, or indeed any unlimited quantity that the company might require ; if the quantity be confined to two crore, he has only been deprived of fifty lacks for the fixt quantity for which he would at first have engaged ; and
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as he had assurances that he should have half the number of brick makers and coolies which were employed by the other contractor, I am really at a loss to imagine major Watson's reasons for rejecting the proposals made to him by the committee, unless he be determined to compel them into his own measures, and obtain a preference to every other person, or to lay the blame upon them for discouraging so useful and so necessary a work as the construction of the docks. Indeed, gentlemen, I consider the style of major Watson's letter to convey threats of this nature ; and because of the indulgence which our representations have obtained to him from the court of directors, he conceives himself privileged to ask, nay, to demand, what favours he pleases, without reflecting that it behoves this board to act with impartial justice to all. The major's reasons may be just, his representations may be well deserving of attention ; but is the government to have no other views but his ? to consider no other person but him ? I cannot help declaring, that the conduct which major Watson has been pleased to observe upon this occasion, has to me, somewhat the appearance of presumption and obstinacy ; and I doubt not, but it will be regarded in the same light by our honourable employers. The proposals which he made in his last address to the committee, for taking the contract upon lower terms than he had at first offered, ought not, I think, to have that weight with the board which he seems very desirous to give them ; because, he must well have known that our engagements with the former contractor were then too far agreed upon to be broke off ; as the kilns were ab-

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solutely forming, and several thousands of raw bricks already made for the performance of his new contract.

It is my duty to inform the board, that in every application made to me by major Watſon, relative to the useful work he has undertaken, I have given him every ſupport in my power, which was not abſolutely contrary to poſitive reſtrictions; and I dare ſay, he will do me the juſtice to declare the ſame; but I muſt remark, upon this occaſion, that the undertaking of any of the company's public contracts, as an aſſiſtance to the execution of his ſcheme, is a mode newly thought of by the major, and which I am perſuaded was never conſidered in the calculations made by him and colonel Campbell, when the work was originally projected; at leaſt, I have been aſſured by the latter of theſe gentlemen, that no ſuch deſign was at that time intended: but it would now appear, from major Watſon's representations, that the executing the brick contract is indiſpenſable to the carrying on of this work; and that we muſt comply with his requeſt in its full extent for the whole of the contract, otherwiſe it will not answer; for he has reſuſed to accept of half of it upon his own terms, If the having of this contract was an object of ſuch real importance to the carrying on of his works, I cannot imagine how the half of it ſhould become ſo inſignificant as to be rejected. The natural conſequence is, that major Watſon muſt have every thing he grasps at, and in the manner he preſcribes himſelf, otherwiſe he will not ſubmit, though evidently for his own advantage, to the arrangements made by government. As to his remark, That
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the brick contract being in two hands would be an endless matter of controversy, and an impediment to the execution of the contract ; I must differ from him on this subject, and observe, in support of my opinion, that in the year 1770, when the contract was held by four different persons, a larger quantity of bricks was delivered than in any former year.

Although well inclined to wish the greatest success to the construction of the docks, both from public and private motives, it would rather be allowing major Watson too large a share of merit, to consider him as the only person influenced by the spirit of zeal for the welfare of his country, and the honourable company in this settlement ; and though ready to give every kind of merit to so large an undertaking, yet I am persuaded that other motives, besides that of zeal, have stimulated him to this undertaking, and induced him to proceed in the execution of it.

JOHN CARTIER.

The board are unanimously of opinion, that the president's minute is a clear elucidation of the whole proceeding of the brick contract, and points out very fully, that major Watson has no true cause of complaint ; as the committee have been as much inclined to consider his proposals, and to give every weight to his particular situation, as they could do, consistent with justice to the former contractor : that it would appear that major Watson studied more his own conveniency than the engagements ; that justice which the administration do consider
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themselves bound to observe to all; that his information of a defect of zeal is equally unjust and in place, as he has received repeated instances of the ready facility which government have at all times been ready to give him, to remove every obstacle that may be an interruption to his plan of erecting docks.

June 19, 1773.

Errors excepted,

SAMUEL WILKS,

Fort William, 22. October 1768.

At a Consultation; Present,

John Cartier, Esq; President.

Claud Ruffel, Joseph Jekyll,

Charles Floyer, Thomas Lane,

Francis Hare, Richard Barwell,

Read the following letter from the committee of works.

To the honourable John Cartier, Esq; President and Governor, &c. council of Fort William.

Gentlemen,

We find ourselves under the necessity of representing to you the extraordinary neglect of Jugretam Chuckerbutty, Anunderam Chuckerbutty, and Ramperfaud Chattorgie (brick contractors) in the execution of their contracts, notwithstanding they have experienced every indulgence that could be granted them, convenient with the interest of the

the honourable company; and that we have thought it our duty to secure their persons, and take possession of their bricks, in order to clear the ground for the new contractors, and to recover the balances that will remain due after all their bricks are delivered.

We request to be favoured with your further orders regarding this matter; and have the honour to subscribe ourselves,

Committee Works,	Gentlemen,
5th October 1770.	Your most obedient
	Humble servants,

(Signed) F. HARE,
JOSEPH JEKYLL,
THOMAS LANE,
ARCH. CAMPBELL,
JOHN ROSEWELL.

Resolved, That the committee of works be directed to carry into execution the measures they propose for recovering the balances due to the honourable company from Jaggut Ram, Chuckerbutty, and the late brick contractors.

Fort William, the 19th October 1768.
Articles of Agreement indented, made and agreed upon, the 6th of September 1770, between the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the one part, and John Robinson, inhabitant of Calcutta, of the other part, viz.

The said John Robinson, for the consideration hereunder mentioned, doth hereby for himself, his heirs,

heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant, contract, and agree to and with the said united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and their assigns, viz. that the said John Robinson, his heirs, executors and administrators and servants and workmen, shall and will, by the 30th of September 1771, at his own cost and charges, and with good and sufficient materials, make, or cause to be made, on a spot of ground opposite to the town of Calcutta, and no other, for the said united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, three hundred lacks (30,000,000) of good, hard, and well burnt and lawful bricks, to be all of them full five inches and a half broad, full eleven inches long, and full two and one quarter inches thick, when burnt off; and at his own charge deliver, or cause the same to be delivered, in the following proportions, at the gaut or water-gate of New Fort William; viz. by the 31st December 1770 (lacks 600,0000) by the 31st March, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one, seventy lacks (lacks 700,0000) by the 30th of June 1771, eighty lacks (8000000) and by the 30th of September 1771, ninety lacks (9000000) also as many broken bricks as the said united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, or their assigns shall require. And the said John Robinson doth further covenant and agree, to deliver at the gaut of New Fort William, as aforesaid, as many Buzar bricks, made of good and sufficient materials, as the same shall be demanded, or occasion shall require, for carrying on the buildings there. The said John Robinson likewise shall not dispose of any bricks to the inhabitants, directly

rectly or indirectly, without first obtaining per-
 mission of the committee of works, until such
 time as the united company of merchants of Eng-
 land trading to the East Indies have received the
 full quantity contracted for as above. In confide-
 ration whereof, the said united company of mer-
 chants of England, trading to the East Indies shall
 truly pay, or cause to be paid, unto the said John
 Robinson, his executors, administrators, or assigns,
 six Arcot rupees eight annas for every thousand of
 bricks measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, 11 inches long,
 and full two and a quarter inches thick ; and for
 every thousand of Buzar bricks, Arcot rupees two
 and five annas, to be made and delivered as afore-
 said ; provided they be first inspected and appro-
 ved by such persons as are already appointed by
 the honourable committee of works for this pur-
 pose, who shall reject all that are not properly
 burnt, or made of good and sufficient materials ;
 and moreover shall be the sole judge of the broken
 bricks. The united company of merchants of
 England trading to the East Indies, or their assigns,
 have gave to the said John Robinson, or for this
 business, an exclusive grant of the brick grounds
 on the other side of the river, reaching from Lan-
 gerall to Bally Creek ; and the said united compa-
 ny of merchants of England trading to the East In-
 dies, or their assigns, do further agree to give the
 said John Robinson immediate payment, upon the
 delivery of his monthly proportions stipulated as
 above : also that the said John Robinson shall be
 supplied with fire-wood, at the rate of 14 Arcot
 rupees per hundred maunds, from time to time, by
 the aforesaid united company of merchants of
 England

England trading to the East Indies, or their assigns, which the said John Robinson is to consider as an advance, which is to be deducted from his last payment of his fourth proportion of bricks delivered. The said John Robinson doth further covenant and agree to abide by the following articles ; that in case of disputes they are to be settled by arbitration, and neither party to have in their power to litigate the matter in a court of justice ; and that they will not transfer or make over this contract to any person or persons whatever ; also, that in case of inattention and neglect, in executing the contract, that the said united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, or their assigns, as aforesaid, shall be at liberty to annul the same, for the undue performance of the above contract. The said united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies have accepted Messrs. Robert Crawford and David Killican as sureties for the above John Robinson, bound in a penalty of eighty-five thousand seven hundred and fifteen current rupees, which is to become forfeited on either of the above articles not being strictly abided by. In witness whereof the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies have to one part of these indentures set their common seal ; and the said John Robinson his hand and seal, in Calcutta, by the day and year first above written.

Signed, sealed, and delivered,

where no stamp'd paper is
to be had, in presence of us,

(Signed) JOHN ROBINSON.

JOHN ROSEWELL,

MATTHEW MENDES.

We .

We the underwritten sureties for John Robinson, do acknowledge to have perused the above articles, and do hereby agree to abide thereby.

(Signed) ROBERT CRAWFORD,
DAVID KILLICAN.

Know all men by these presents, that we, Robert Crawford and David Killican, of the town of Calcutta, inhabitants, are held and firmly bound unto the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the penal sum of current rupees eighth-five thousand seven hundred and fifteen (C. R. 85,715) to the true and lawful payment whereof we do hereby bind ourselves, our heirs, &c. firmly by these presents. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, in Calcutta, this 6th day of September 1770,

Whereas John Robinson, of Calcutta, inhabitant, hath entered into an agreement with the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, to supply them with three hundred lacks (30000000) of large, and as many small bricks as they shall require, to be delivered at the water-gate of New Fort William, by the 30th of September 1771; and for which the said united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies are to pay, or cause to be paid, to the said John Robinson, for the large sort of brick before-mentioned, at the rate of six Arcot rupees eight annas; and for the small, Arcot rupees two and five Annas per thousand: And whereas the said John Robinson hath covenanted and agreed to

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fundry other articles, which are entered at large in the agreement aforesaid, which we do hereby acknowledge to have perused, and thoroughly understand the contract; and in token of which we have subscribed our names at the bottom thereof.

Now the condition of this obligation is such, that if the said John Robinson, his heirs, executors, or administrators, do and shall well and truly deliver the said quantity of bricks as above-mentioned, and fully perform all and every of the articles inserted in the agreement aforesaid, and according to the true intent and meaning thereof, then this obligation to be void.

Signed, sealed, and delivered

where no stamp'd paper is
to be had, in presence of us,

JOHN ROSEWELL,

MATTHEW MENDES.

(Signed) ROBERT CRAWFORD.
DAVID KILLICAN.

To all whom these may concern. Be it known, that I, Meton Joys, of Calcutta, inhabitant, do agree and contract for the supplying the honourable the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies with three lacks of maunds buzard of good sand (Md. 300000) and as much more as may be wanted, at and after the rate of Arcot rupees five for every hundred maunds; which said three lacks Mds buzard of sand, as aforesaid, are to be equal in quantity when delivered, by the established firrah, computed at one maund ten furs of dry sifted sand buzard weight, to a sample they have

have put into the hands of the honourable committee of works at New Fort William, on or before the 30th of September 1771, in monthly proportions, never less than 20,000 maunds per month. In consideration of which, the honourable company have allowed the said Meten Joy immediate payment, on his deliveries stipulated as above. On failure of fulfilling this contract, I do agree to pay a fine of twenty-five per cent, on the amount of whatever may be the deficiency at the time expired. Witness my hand and seal, in Calcutta, this first day of October, 1770.

*Signed, sealed, and delivered,
where no stamp'd paper is
to be had, in presence of us,*
JOHN ROSEWELL,
JOHN SIMMERMAN.

(Signed) METON JOY (L. S.)

Know all men by these presents, that we Lukey Condutt, and Gopy Tagore, of Calcutta, inhabitants, are held and firmly bound to the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the penal sum of eighteen thousand rupees (Ar. 18000) to the true and lawful payment of which we do hereby bind ourselves, our heirs, &c. firmly, by these presents. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals in Calcutta, this first day of October 1770.

Whereas Meton Joy, of Calcutta, inhabitant, hath agreed to supply the honourable company with three lacks of maunds buzar of good sand,
(300000)

300000) and as much more as may be wanted, at the rate of five Arcot rupees per hundred maunds, which he is to receive payment for as delivered.

Now the condition of this obligation is such, that if the above-mentioned Meton Joy, shall well and truly comply with his contract made with the honourable company, in all respects, then this obligation to be void, and of no effect; or else to remain in full force and virtue.

Signed, sealed, and delivered,
where no stamped paper is
to be had, in presence of us,

JOHN ROSEWEEL,

JOHN SIMMERMAN,

(Signed) LUCKY CONDUTT, (L. S.)

GOPY TAGORE, (L. S.)

Know all men by these presents, that we Dupanerain Tagore, and Dutteram, of Calcutta, inhabitants, are held and firmly bound unto the honourable and united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, their servants or assigns, in the penal sum of Arcot rupees, (200,000) to the true and lawful payment of which we do hereby bind ourselves, our heirs, &c. and assigns, firmly by these presents. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, in Calcutta, this 12th October 1770.

Whereas Tillarum Purgaffy, of Calcutta, inhabitant, at his own solicitation and request, has been accepted, and is appointed, banyan to the honourable committee of works at Fort William aforesaid, we the said Dupanerain Tagore and Dutteram, that

the said Tilleram Purgaffy may honestly and justly discharge the duties of the said office of banyan, to the committee afore-mentioned, and in order to prevent any illegal, illicit, fraudulent or unfair practices from being committed by him, or with his consent, knowledge, privacy, concurrence, or connivance, do hereby bind ourselves as his sureties, in the full and just sum of Arcot rupees one hundred thousand.

Now the condition of this obligation is such, that if the above-mentioned Tilleram Purgaffy shall well and truly, honestly and justly, discharge the duties of the office of banyan to the honourable committee of works as aforesaid, then this obligation to be void and of no effect, or else to remain in full force and virtue,

Signed, sealed, and delivered,

where no stamped paper is to

be had, in the presence of us,

JOHN ROSEWELL,

JOHN SIMMERMAN.

(Signed) DUPANARAIN TAGORE, (L. S.)

DUTTERAM, (L. S.)

We flatter ourselves our readers will acquire a sufficient information of all the civil, military and judicial transactions in India, from the papers laid before the secret and the select committee, appointed by the house of commons, the most essential extracts of which, we have taken from this national inquiry. The severe animadversions of colonel Burgoyne, the chairman, on the conduct of the noble lord and the other instruments of his system

system of rapaciousness, injustice and oppression, in his memorable speech, calculated to bring to public justice and restitution the wealthy culprit; and the daring and elaborate vindication of the noble delinquent, generally thought to have been written by a great plausible lawyer, make the conclusion of this long scrutiny.

The good fortune of lord Clive is more remarkable in this instance, than in any other period of his life. He not only was acquitted honourably, but received the thanks of the house of commons for the great services his lordship had rendered to the nation and the company, whilst intrusted with the supreme command in India. Thus his wealth and interest dispersed in an instant, the clouds that had hung so long a while over his head, and which threatened a storm, that might have crushed him to atoms with indelible disgrace and infamy. We think proper for the satisfaction of our readers to insert here such parts as confirms the opinion of the difficulty of bringing to condign punishment public depredations.

On Tuesday March the 9th, 1773, there was a very full house in the house of commons, being the day appointed to consider of the East India company's petition for relief; and after reading several papers relative to the subject, lord North spoke to the following purport.

"Before fir, we enter into a discussion of the East India company's affairs, I shall beg leave to make

make a few remarks upon an opinion which has gained ground abroad, respecting a supposed right the company have to demand and expect assistance from parliament.

“ It has, sir, with a great shew of confidence, been asserted, that the income agreed to be paid by the company to government was excessive, was advantageous to the state, and, the company's affairs considered, was more than they could possibly afford, doing justice to the several proprietors of stock. Taking this position for granted, it hath been argued, that as the state, by exacting the stipulated income from the company, hath been necessary to its distress, the state in justice, is bound to afford the assistance necessary to extricate the company out of those difficulties in which at present it is involved. Now, sir, this position is altogether false, and of course the consequence deduced from it is equally remote from truth. The position is false, for the income agreed to be paid by the East India company to the state, so far from being advantageous, was by no means an equivalent for those articles of the revenue which the state gave up when it accepted the stipend of 400,000*l.* in lieu thereof. As to this being a larger sum than the company, considering the then state of their finances, could afford, was that, sir, the fault of the ministry ? was the state to blame ? did not the company of its own accord make the proposal ? the first advances came not from government, but from the company ; the company prayed then, as now, the assistance of government ; the company knew, or ought to have known, the strength of its own resources ; and if the stipend offered was more than

than it could with convenience discharge, it was yet less than the state had a right to require, considering the value those articles of the revenue given up, as I before observed, in lieu of the sum proposed by the company to be annually paid to government. For my part, sir, I declare, I was at the first, averse to giving ear to any proposal of the kind ; I was, in hopes the company's distresses were not what I have since found them to be ; and therefore, that without the interposition of parliamentary aid, they might be redressed ; but when pressed by the company on the one hand, and the insight I daily gained into its deplorable situation on the other, I found it necessary for something to be done to save the company from a situation little short of absolute bankruptcy ; then, sir, I listened to the proposal ; but so far from an exaction it was only an acquiescence on the part of government to the company's repeated and earnest solicitations.

“ The justice then, sir, of the state's at all interfering on a supposition of its having been accessary to the company's distresses, is an idea utterly repugnant to the matter of fact. As to the right the state has to interpose its authority founded on its prior claim to all territorial acquisitions made by a body of its subjects. I shall say but little, though I might be fully justified in maintaining this right even in the most absolute sense ; for, sir, many men far my superiors in abilities, in learning, and knowledge of the laws, have declared themselves of this opinion, and scruple not to express themselves clearly on this head, that “ such territorial possessions as the subjects of any state shall acquire by conquest, are virtually the property of the state ;

state, and not of those individuals who acquire them. I am however, sir, now only reciting the opinion of others as well as myself; but whether we allow or not, that the East India company hath a claim of justice to be relieved, it certainly will on all hands be readily granted, that in policy we ought, if possible, to extricate from its difficulties a company so consequential to that state, and conducive, when under proper regulations, to the good of that whole of which it is an illustrious part.

“ It is some time, sir, since a bill was framed, which it was imagined would greatly contribute to rectify the disorders complained of in India; but sir, the difficulty of appointing the judges, together with the want of proper information concerning the immense and complicated system of management carried on in Bengal, to which, if we add an ignorance of the real causes which contributed to occasion the company's misfortunes, these obstacles prevented the application of what then was thought might prove an adequate remedy, and in the sequel, the bill was lost. We are now, sir, to consider, as something in policy ought, what can be done for the relief of the company; but even now we shall not be able to enter deeply into the affair; we shall not be able to probe the disease to the bottom; we are not sufficiently acquainted with its nature to prescribe, as skilful physicians, any thing which may effectuate, a radical cure. In short, sir, we still want the necessary information. Your committees open and secret, have done all that men could do; with an unwearied diligence and perseverance almost unparalleled, the latter hath performed every thing which could be

expected; it hath done honour to its institutors, by fully answering the end of its institution: but still, sir, there is much to come to light; at present suspicion only authorizes us to say, that from the malversation of the company's servants abroad, and perhaps the culpability of some of its leading agents at home, there is an absolute necessity for an immediate interposition.

"Far, sir, be it from me to intend a reflection upon any particular man or set of men, we have no positive evidence of guilt, though strong enough presumptive to justify us in supposing that in a country where the temptation to err is so powerful, and the hopes of escaping with impunity so flattering, matters have not been conducted by the company's servants with that fairness and propriety they ought. Let, however, sir, the guilt of individuals be ever so great, the company is an object of too much national consequence to be overlooked. A company, sir, the annual receipt of which amounts to almost four millions, and which exports British articles to the amount of four hundred thousand pounds. Such a company is of too great a consequence, considered in a commercial light, not to call for our attention to its welfare. I will, sir, state the affairs of the company. [Here he made a very accurate estimate of the nett profits of the company for several years past; and after shewing the decrease of profits, and gradual deficiencies incurred; after declaring it as a fact, that the company had proposed a dividend at the very time it was in little better than an insolvent state, his lordship concluded thus.] From hence, sir, I am warranted

ranted to declare, that in September the company will be deficient 1,300,425l.

“ Now, sir, various plans have been proposed to me to relieve the company ; the first is, that they might “ borrow what money they want upon bonds :” but this is a method I can by no means approve of, for, sir, they have already stretched their credit too far. Another expedient has been suggested, which is the “ funding the company’s bills ;” but this, sir, would by no means effect what is wanted, an immediate relief ; the company’s bills are diffused through a variety of hands, this expedient therefore would require a length of time to bring about the end proposed. Lastly, it has been suggested, that, as “ the directors and managers of the company must have been some how or other to blame, it is but just that they should chiefly contribute to extricate the company out of those distresses, to plunge it in which their flagrant misconduct has contributed.” But, sir, every man at first sight will perceive the futility of this proposal, for during the interval spent in getting at proofs of the guilt of the culprits, the company may be ruined beyond even a possibility of redemption. On the whole, sir, after revolving again and again this subject in my mind, I am more and more convinced than an instantaneous step should be taken, and that it is for the interest even of the public, that the public should assist the company ; not, however, without taking the necessary precautions to prevent the like disasters from befalling the company in future ; not without restraining the dividend to a certain assessment, nor yet without providing, that in case the managers
of

of the company should neglect so to regulate their affairs, as effectually to rectify the abuses which at present subsist, that then, at the time public grants in aid of money, the grant may be accompanied with parliamentary aid to remedy the evils complained of.

“ I did, sir, flatter myself that some plan of of this kind, some salutary scheme of reformation would have been proposed; I could have wished it had originated from the company, and not from parliament; but as it is, sir, taking the precautions above intimated for my guide, I shall beg leave to propose the following motions to the consideration of this house, and should they be assented to, we shall then have an opportunity, session after session, of making ourselves such thorough masters of East India affairs, that we shall be well enabled to adopt those plans only, which, by alleviating the past, may prevent the future misfortunes of a company, to contribute to the lasting welfare and prosperity of which has been my desire, and shall be my endeavours.

“ I shall now, sir, read the resolutions I have to propose.

[Here he read the resolutions, which were to the following purport:]

“ That it is the opinion of this house, that the affairs of the East India company are in such a state as to require parliamentary assistance,

“ That a loan of a sum of money is necessary to reinstate the company's affairs.

“ That a supply of 1,400,000*l.* be granted to the company.

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“ Provided

“Provided, at the same time, due care shall be taken, that the necessary regulations be adopted to prevent the company’s experiencing the like exigencies in future.

After Lord North had finished his speech with declaring the resolutions he had to propose, Mr. Dowdeswell thus addressed the house :

Mr. Dowdeswell.] The noble lord, with a perfidiousness peculiar to himself, hath stated the company’s affairs, and proved, I believe, sir, to the satisfaction of every man present, that without almost instantaneous relief, the company is in a fair way of being totally undone. I am, sir, so well convinced of the propriety of our interposition, that I rise not to oppose the noble lord’s resolutions, but to make a few remarks upon some expressions let fall in his speech.—The deplorable situation of the India company hath been painted both within and without doors in lively colours; but, sir, who hath been more immediately accessory to its distresses? Hath not the prospect of immense wealth tempted its own servants to ransack, as it were, the bowels of the very mother that bore them? Hath not administration, the present I mean, stretched forth its rapacious hands to seize upon the wealth of the company? Who then can wonder at its distresses? Who can be surprized at the ruin which awaits this once flourishing body corporate? But, sir, the noble lord is pleased to talk of the territorial acquisitions of this company as of “right and justice belonging to the state.” I in this particular differ so much from the noble lord, that I think the position utterly repugnant to truth, and, in behalf of an injured company, I here stand
up

up to disavow such notions as inconsistent with the chartered rights of the company, as inconsistent with common justice, and as inconsistent with that encouragement which should ever be given in a commercial state, to companies of such consequence as that trading to the East Indies. This, sir, is all I have at present to say upon the subject, with respect to the resolutions proposed by the noble lord, I am too much a friend to the company to oppose them in a single instance.

Mr. Dempster.] Unwilling to occupy the time of the house, I shall, sir, be as brief and concise as possible.--- The noble lord dropped an expression, which, I confess, gave me greater surprise than any thing I ever remember to have heard since I had the honour of sitting in this house. He was pleased to say, sir, that "the East India company had no claim of justice for relief." To what, in the name of goodness, doth this assertion amount? is not the East India company a trading company? Have not the benefits accruing from its traffic been immense to this kingdom? and shall we say, nay; shall we hear it from the mouth of administration itself, that, in strict justice, we ought not to attend to the commercial interests of Great Britain? For what, sir, do we by relieving the company, except putting it in a situation of benefiting the state by its commerce? yet, sir, according to the noble lord, this is not a matter of justice, but of policy merely, that is of convenience to some party! if such be the language of office, it differs, sir, so much from my sentiments, that I should think myself deficient in point of duty, did I not totally disclaim the idea as incongruous,

gruous, and the proposition as an absurdity in terms, although an absurdity of a dangerous tendency.----Respecting the territorial acquisitions of the company, there also, sir, I entirely differ in opinion from the noble lord; and, if I err, can plead as well as the noble lord respectable authority as a sanction for my error. Several gentlemen, well skilled in the laws of their country, have advanced it as their opinions that the company have an undoubted, a clear, and an exclusive right to the territories possessed in India, whether acquired by conquest or otherwise. I have now, sir, a gentleman in my eye, who formerly held the same opinion; he is now indeed, in office, and whether a change of situation may have so far operated upon his intellects as to change his sentiments in this particular, I cannot determine. However, sir, this is not the time to debate the proposition, it is not properly before us; when it is I shall enter the lists a champion for the company's rights, and I will shew that to maintain the noble lord's position, is to maintain that the charters of corporate bodies may be violated at pleasure, set at nought with impunity, and abrogated whenever it can serve the purposes of government.

Mr. Edmund Burke then got up, and calling the chairman, by mistake, Sir Charles White-worth, a laugh prevailed through the house; at length the rising muscles of the members being somewhat composed, Mr. Burke proceeded as follows:

Mr. Edmund Burke.] Instances, it seems, of absurdity are never to be wanting in this house; but previous to our being absurd upon record, I do

do beg that the resolutions proposed by the noble lord may be a little attended to. It may be thought a trifling request, but I cannot think that trifling, the omission of which might lead to an impeachment of our understandings. Sir, if I comprehend the meaning of the noble lord's motion, it is as follows: It is first asserted, that a supply is necessary to relieve the company; you next agree now to vote them a supply though in the fourth motion it is expressly asserted, that the company shall not have the supply, unless, at the same time, due care shall be taken that the regulations are made, &c."

Pray, sir, who is to make these regulations? The sentence is impersonal; it provides that due care shall be taken; but never says by whom. I would farther ask, sir, what are we to understand by the phrase, "at the same time?" It cannot mean now, that we are voting the money necessary, because no due care has been taken, no regulations are now made; and yet, sir, it ought to mean, at the very instant the money is voted necessary, or it becomes arrant nonsense; for consider, sir, "provided at the same time due care shall be taken," implies a conditional contingency, which may or may not happen, for due care may or may not be taken. So that we are now going to grant the public money upon the strength of a conditional contingency which may not come to pass, tho' upon the absolute necessity only of the contingency's happening, the money is voted. My God, sir! what informal, delusive; unparliamentary, illegal, incoherent stuff is this! I ask again, sir, who is to take this due care? who is to make these
wonderful

wonderful regulations? Parliament confesses, in plain terms, its total inability; for with all your secret, your select, and your open committees, it appears by your own confession you have done what amounts to nothing. It is from you, then, that we are to expect these regulations, and this due care? No; you confess that you wish the regulations may come from the company; they are, you say, better qualified; so that with respect to those matters, the case stands thus: Parliament wants sense; the East India company wants (what is too often a substitute for sense) money. Parliament, out of its abundant resources, agrees to supply the company with money, “provided at the same time” (that is, some time hereafter) the company will furnish parliament with as much sense as they may think adequate to the supply advanced. It seems as if you was at last conscious of your deficiencies, for considering the state of the nation at present, 1,400,000*l.* is a sum that ought to purchase a good deal of sense. May the company furnish you with some sense of the sterling kind! with such an excellent commodity that you may be gainers by the bargain! if I thought that would be the case, I would vote for the present supply with prodigious alacrity, and think it the best bestowed money the public has for some years parted with; but, I do beseech you to correct that ungrammatical jargon in which the motions are contained; for since (contrary to the idea conveyed by the terms) we are not to understand “at the same time” to mean the present now, *eo instante*, but some indefinite, unlimited time hereafter; since this is the case, take care, I say,

say, that after you have furnished the money, the company should not perform their conditions, by furnishing you with the sense.

I declare I am far from intending this in a ludicrous light; I think it a matter of serious consequence: the company have applied to parliament for pecuniary relief; you pass resolutions to relieve them; they go away satisfied; their affairs are supposed to be now reinstated, and their stock is affected thereby. Yet here is a condition expressly tacked to the grant, of which they are not apprized. The condition is not performed; they receive not the grant as expected; and thus, like a bubble blown up in the air, their hopes vanish, their delusive golden dream expires. If this is not the fact without exaggeration, upon an intimation of the house's conceiving it in a different manner, I am ready and willing to retract my error.

Lord North.] The honourable gentleman is pleased to be facetious. It is possible, sir, that we may stand greatly in need of sense, but it is not altogether so extremely clear, that the East India company so much abounds in that commodity; their wants of another kind perhaps are proofs of this, for had they had more sense, they might not now have been so destitute of money.

With respect to what the gentleman finds fault with, I can only say, that to poor apprehensions the meaning of the obnoxious sentence is extremely clear. We first resolve to furnish the company with money; but the express condition of their receiving that money is their or our taking care, "at the same time," to frame such regulations as
may

may best prevent the return of similar evils upon the company. The word "provided" does by no means imply a condition; I will not trespass longer upon the house; I have proposed my motions, and if any gentleman has others more likely to answer the end, I am ready to hear, and take the sense of the house upon them.

Mr. Edmund Burke.] There are many gentlemen now in this house, accurately acquainted with our acts of parliament, and if one of them will stand up, and tell me in what other sense than that of a condition the word "provided" is used in all stipulated articles of agreement, I shall be infinitely obliged to him. The noble lord may be an excellent statesman; but from what he has just now let fall, I will trust him in any thing but an explanation of the meaning of a word in his native language. I am sure the gentleman who sits next him (Mr. Dyson) never helped him to the terms in which the motions are drawn.

Mr. William Burke.] We were called together early in the season, to consider of the regulations which the noble lord informs us, are yet in the womb of time. Our adjournments have been short; our meetings frequent; our committees on India affairs many; yet what has all this produced? what by the sensible part of the world was expected, nothing. We are, as I understand, to sit here for many months longer, in the sultry months, for the benefit of our healths. But when these same regulations relative to the East India company are to take place, Heaven alone can tell! by the language of the motions they should commence now, that we are about to resolve the money necessary;
by

by the language of the minister it is not now, but at some future indeterminate period ; so that the written and the verbal style of the minister varies considerably, unless, like reading it backwards, we begin with the motion which has the last place assigned to it by the noble lord, though it is first in the order of common sense.

Mr. Charles Fox.] I know no other way, sir, of accounting for the honourable gentleman's mistake (Edmund Burke) who spoke last, but one, unless by referring it to the error he set out with ; he really, sir, takes you for sir Charles Whitworth, and this for a committee of supply. (A loud laugh through the house.)

Mr. Edmund Burke.] I am always happy when I can contribute to the good humour of the house, as I think it an auspicious omen in our favour ; but, sir, I should have been absurd indeed, had I taken such a committee as this for a committee of supply, though I know not that I should have deserved censure for mistaking you for sir Charles Whitworth.

On the 26th of April, when lord North observed that, throughout the whole examination which the house had made of the East India business, nothing could have been more attentive to their interest than himself in his motions ; and also the house in accepting them. That it was evident, the public would suffer from the very faulty way in which the company had conducted their affairs, even to the loss of 400,000*l.* a year ; and now, instead of that receipt, were obliged, in policy, to lend the company near four times that sum. That, although in future there was a prospect of a large advantage on

the side of the public, so there ought certainly to be on every consideration. That he had now, in a general pursuance of these favourable ideas of the company, a proposal to make, which would be wholly to their advantage. It was to allow the company to export such part of the tea at present in their warehouses, as they should think proper, duty-free. This would be prodigiously to the advantage of the company, as they had at present above 17,000,000lb. by them. The converting a part of it into money would greatly ease them, and be attended with those good consequences which are now so necessary to re-establish their affairs. That this measure would be lessening the revenue of the customs; yet he had proposed it merely with a view to give the company all possible assistance. This was agreed to.

On the 3d of May, after Mr. C. Boulton had presented the East India company's petition, dated the 30th of April, against the limitation of the company's dividend, there was little else in the house than a scene of altercation and recrimination between lord Clive and Mr. Sullivan, and other gentlemen concerned in the direction of the India company. But, the commons being resolved into a committee of the whole house to take into consideration the affairs of the East India company, lord North opened the debate with a long speech, much of which consisted of general reasoning, but contained the substance of several motions, which were to be the business of the day, His lordship, among other things, proposed,

That

That the court of directors should, in future, be elected for four years; six members annually; but none to hold their seats longer than for four years.

That no person should vote at the election of the directors who had not possessed their stock twelve months.

That the stock of qualification should, instead of 500l. be 1000l.

That the mayor's court of Calcutta should be for the future confined to small mercantile causes, to which only its jurisdiction extended before the territorial acquisition.

Then in lieu of this court, thus taken away, a new one be established, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges.

That these judges be appointed by the crown.

That a superiority be given to the presidency of Bengal over the other presidencies in India.

Upon the first proposition of the election of the directors for four years, his lordship remarked, that in the present state of the company, the gentlemen of the direction were so shocked by the shortness of their term, that if they were willing to come into any permanent plan, they could not see it carried into execution, from the attention they are obliged to give to caballing for their re-election.

That, in regard to the second proposition, he thought the term of six months too short for a qualification to vote, as it did not preclude temporary purchases of stock, merely for an opportunity of voting. That the qualification of 500l. was too small a pittance of a fortune to entitle a man to vote for directors; for which reason, he thought that 1000l. would be more proper.

Respecting

Respecting the contraction of the mayor's court, he observed, it was no more than reducing its jurisdiction to that circle to which it was accustomed before the great acquisitions were made ; that it was a court consisting of merchants and traders, and therefore evidently improper for the trial of those many great and momentous matters which now must come before it ; that for these reasons the erection of a new judicature was absolutely necessary ; that the judges of that court ought certainly to be appointed by the king, not only as a matter of propriety, but to give a weight and consequence to their decisions.

With respect to the superiority to be given to one presidency over the rest, it was only to concern general affairs, not matters of internal regulation ; but at present it was a system of confusion, for it had been known that one presidency had been going to war with a country power, at the very time that another was concluding peace with the same power. A contradiction too glaring to be supported.

His lordship further observed, a regulation would be necessary to oblige the company, whenever they received advices from the governor and council of Bengal, to communicate them immediately to the treasury, or the secretaries of state, that the public might know in what manner their affairs went on, and what necessities arose in Bengal.

He remarked, that, although these regulations would go far towards a reformation, yet it was not to be expected that the work was to be done at once --and over ; on the contrary, that he believed Bengal would demand their attention annually ;
that

that a regular and fixed attention could alone answer the great demand there would be upon controuling power; but that he doubted not the house would give it.

He noted the necessity of obliging the company's servants to send home all their fortunes in the ships of the company, under heavy penalties; and touched upon the greatness of fortunes so quickly made in the East Indies, as mischievous to the public good.

Lord Clive then got up, and solicited the indulgence of the house to a few facts which had been partially stated, and, as he was pleading for what was dearer to him than life, his reputation, he hoped the committee would patiently hear him. He then went through one of the reports of the secret committee, and quoted those different passages which concerned him. His lordship was very particular in examining the report; and, in answer to those different passages which accused him of appropriating part of the revenues of Bengal; he read extracts of the nabob's letter to him as president of the select committee, of the committee's letter to the directors, and finally the directors' letter of approbation to him. His lordship afterwards observed, that trained in a school of war and politics, as he had been for twenty years, he was now in the school of philosophy; and if patience was a virtue, he had no doubt of being very virtuous indeed. He enlarged very fully on the misconduct of the directors; and after arraigning in the severest terms the unpardonable remissions of former administrations, in neglecting the affairs of the India company, he declared, that the mismanagement
abroad

abroad was founded upon mismanagement at home. He then entered very particularly into the malevolence and artifice of his enemies, and, to prove the zeal with which one of them attacked him, he read part of a conversation between the late deputy chairman and one of the first clerks in the India house, in which the late deputy chairman (Sir George Colebrook) says, these remarkable words, ' I want to mark the man, (meaning his lordship). Lord Clive proceeded to exculpate himself, and declared, he went out to India the last time, promising not to add a shilling to his fortune, either directly or indirectly, and which he declared to God he had religiously observed. His lordship ironically complimented the vast extent of abilities of lord North, in limiting the continuance of the territorial acquisitions in the company's possession for six years. He said, he might call his lordship the lion of government, and the India company the jackall, or lion's provider ; that he had already seized upon three quarters, and no doubt, but when the lion had been out hunting, and was returning hungry, that the remaining quarter would be seized also ; that he stood there as an independent man, ready to give government every honourable assistance ; that that he would do, and farther would not be expected of him, with respect to the East India company ; that he lamented their situation ; that they had long been tampered by with quacks, even till they were reduced to an absolute consumption, and had thrown themselves upon parliament as the only true physician that could effect a cure. His lordship remarked, that for these two years past the directors, either
through

through ignorance or design, had kept the affairs of the company a secret ; that they had rioted at taverns, dissolved in dissipation and luxury, and had venison, turtle, and other choice viands in and out of season, with burgundy, claret, and old hock ; that they entirely neglected their duty, and employed a man to think for them (Mr. Wilks) to whom they allowed 400l. per annum, and that many of their orders were so absurd and contradictory, that their own servants were almost justified in refusing obedience to them. I left (continued his lordship) India in January 1766, in profound peace, and in which it was likely to remain. The expence of the military at that time, though heavy, was nothing equal to what it is now ; I expected it would, instead of increasing, have been reduced. Much virulence and malevolence have been employed against me ; and it is with real concern I find myself reduced to the sad necessity of being the herald of my own fame. I have served my country and that company faithfully ; and, had I been employed by the crown, I should not have been in the situation I am in at present ; I should have been differently rewarded ; no retrospect would have been had to sixteen years past, and I should not have been forced to plead for what is dearer than life, my reputation.

My situation, sir, has not been an easy one for these twelve months past ; and though my conscience never could accuse me, yet I felt for my friends who were involved in the same censure as myself. Sir, not a stone has been left unturned, where the least probability could arise of discovering something of a criminal nature against me.

The

The two committees, sir, seem to have bent the whole of their enquiries to the conduct of their humble servant the Baron de Plassey; and I have been examined by the select committee more like a sheep stealer, than a member of this house. I am sure, sir, if I had any sore places about me, they would have been found; they have probed to the bottom; no lenient plaisters have been applied to heal: no, sir, they were all of the blister kind, prepared with Spanish flies and other provocatives. The public records have been ransacked for proofs against me; and the late deputy chairman of the India company, a *worthy* member of this house, has been very assiduous indeed,---so assiduous in my affairs, that really, sir, it appears he has entirely neglected his own. As the heads upon Temple-Bar have tumbled down, and no probability of their being replaced, for Jacobitism seems to be at an end, at least there has been great alteration in men's sentiments within these ten years. [Here the house laughed very heartily] I would propose, sir, that my head, by way of pre-eminence, be put upon the middle pole; and his majesty having given me these honours, it is proper they should be supported: what think you then of my having the late chairman and deputy on each side? [Here the house burst out into applause, and remained in one fit of laughter for near ten minutes.] I will now, sir, say a word to the proposed regulations of the noble lord: I agree with him, sir, that the annual direction has been in a great measure the cause of the great distress of the India company, and I also agree, that every proprietor should possess 1000 l. flock,

stock, and be in possession twelve months before he can be qualified to vote. His lordship then expatiated on the great temptation in India; that the country had been governed by a set of boys, and that numberless abuses had been committed; that, with respect to the Mottut, he never heard of it until last summer, when he was in Shropshire; but though a sum of 5000*l.* was of little moment, where the receipts amounted to four or five millions, yet great abuses had been made of it; that, as to jaghires, they are as commonly given by the princes in that country, as pensions, lottery tickets, and other douceurs were by the ministry in this. [The house laughed.]

Mr. Sullivan got up immediately after and declared, though he and the noble lord were enemies, and probably would continue so till the day of their deaths, yet he had never pursued him with the least malevolence: that if he had, he should long since have mentioned a suppression of sixteen months correspondence, which had been repeatedly called for by the directors, but to this moment evaded, and in them it could be proved that his lordship was the sole cause of their present distress; that he would not have mentioned this fact, but in the warmth of his temper, when he was unjustly accused.

Lord Clive in answer declared, that, on his return from India, he gave those papers, with several others, to one Campbell, a Scotch author, in Queen-square, and he had never seen them from that time to the present.

General Carnac next stood up and declared, that he never had any other object than the public

good; and had he embraced every opportunity, or not been remarkably moderate, he might have had four times the fortune he had; and that what he had was acquired in the military line; that he never was concerned in trade, except in salt, which he had only a small share of.

Mr. Jenkinson afterwards got up and vindicated the secret committee.

The house agreed to the motion of lord North, and adjourned at half past eight.

Thus we see how lord Clive's conduct was levelled at, though, as it seemed indirectly, called in question. The affair, however, did not rest here; for general Burgoyne, who brought up, on the 10th, the report of the select committee, after explaining the disagreeable situation in which he stood, declared, "That there were accounts of crimes contained in the report which shocked human nature even to conceive: he said, that he looked upon the deposing Surajah Dowlah, and bringing about a revolution in favour of Meer Jaffer, in the year 1756, to be the origin of all those subsequent evils, which have operated to the temporary distress, if not total destruction, of the company. He enlarged upon the perfidy used to bring about that revolution; he stated the fictitious treaty, forged in order to elude the payment of the stipend promised to Omichund (a black merchant, and confidant of Surajah Dowlah, whom lord Clive and the select committee in India prevailed upon to join in a scheme to dethrone his master;) he exposed the conduct of lord Clive, in causing admiral Watson's name to be signed, contrary to the admiral's express inclination, to this treaty; to
this

this he added the demand of the select committee from the new Nabob of twenty lacks of rupees for their own use, above what the fleet and army had bargained for : in short, the general went into the whole of that infamous transaction, and concluded by saying, " That the perfidy of Omichund was of the blackest dye ; and as to the proceedings of the select committee [in India] I will allow them to be (said the general ironically) of the whitest kind." The general concluded by proposing the following resolutions, and said, that if they met with the approbation of the house, he should move, that persons who acquired sums of money by presents, or otherwise in India (if they acquired such sums by virtue of their acting in a public capacity) should make restitution.

R E S O L U T I O N S.

I. That all acquisitions made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, do of right belong to the state,

II. That to appropriate acquisitions acquired under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, to a private use is illegal.

III. That great sums of money have been obtained by such means from the sovereign princes in India.

Sir William Meredith next vehemently declaimed against the deposing Surajah Dowlah, against the imposition put upon Omichund, and concluded
by

by saying, that forgery and a revolution, did not content the gentlemen concerned; for that, some how or other, this scene of iniquity ended in a bloody catastrophe, even in the assassination of Surajah Dowlah; he therefore concluded, by warmly seconding general Burgoyne's resolution.

The solicitor general, Mr. Wedderburne, next spoke in favour of lord Clive against any restitution; and concluded by objecting to the terms in which the resolutions were couched; he said, the terms "all acquittions were too general, that the word "state" was equivocal, and that "the influence of the military force was an indeterminate phrase:" Mr. Wedderburne, therefore, was for having the order of the day read, and the resolution totally set aside.

Mr. Dyson next spoke with great good sense; he touched upon some parts of lord Clive's vindication upon a former occasion with delicacy, yet with that satire the subject well merited; he recommended to the house the perusal of "Fraser's History of Nadir Shaw," whose moderation seemed, he said, very similar to that of lord Clive's; for Nadir, when at Delhi, only seized upon the treasury, and let the inhabitants remain tax free. Mr. Dyson concluded by saying, that "he thought the terms of the honourable gentleman [Colonel Burgoyne] might be more technically worded; but that, sooner than loose fight of the object at which the resolutions aimed, he should, for his part, give his vote for receiving them in the very terms they were couched."

Lord Clive next arose and said, "That, if what he had repeated on a former occasion would
not

vindicate his honour and his character, he should attempt no further defence of either; he slurred over the assassination of Surajah Dowla, the bribing Omichund to betray his friend, the forging admiral Watfon's name to a fictitious treaty, and, lastly, the deception used to cheat even Omichund of the reward agreed to be paid him for the villainous prostitution of his faith as a friend; his honour, his sentiments, and his gratitude as a man." The noble lord chose to confine himself to a trifling charge urged against him, on a former occasion, by Mr. Sullivan, of a suppression of sixteen months correspondence, the letters relative to which had, he said, been entrusted with a gentleman in Queen-square, [Dr. Campbell] a letter from whom he read [being much to the purpose] wherein the doctor declared himself ready at any time to deliver the said letters to the order of lord Clive.

In answer to the circumstance of the twenty lacks of rupees, lord Clive declared, that he always disapproved that business, and that his letters of that time were in being to shew it.

Mr. Cornwall next addressed the house in a short but sensible speech; he said, that the question before them seemed to be,

Whether "any person invested with the public authority of the state, had a right, under that authority, to acquire emoluments to himself?"

This Mr. Cornwall said he so clearly conceived to be contrary to every principle of policy and good government, that he should ever maintain the negative.

Lord

Lord North corroborated this opinion, and coincided with Mr. Dyson, "That if the resolutions could not be couched in more technical terms, he would, as a member of parliament, give his vote for them as they were."

Mr. Thurlow, with the manly dignity of a senator, and the independence of an honest man, declared, that, in his opinion, the resolutions, in the words they had been proposed, were trueisms [a term peculiar to the house of commons] and that he would support them as such.

Colonel Barre, with great good humour, entered into the history of presents; when taken, he said, without consent, they were plunder; when taken with consent, they were gifts; and when taken by connivance, they became "inland trade."—The colonel old [as he can tell] a facetious story; he said, "that there was a governor of Gibraltar, who, together with his secretary, knew how to accept presents; that a body of Jews came, as was customary, to make their annual donations, but bringing only one thousand shekins, the governor declared, that the Jews should not have audience, as they were sprung from ancestors who crucified our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; the Jews went back disconsolate, and brought two thousand shekins, they were admitted, and the governor said, "poor men, they had no hand in the crucifixion." The colonel was for the resolutions.

Lord North, lord George Germaine, Mr. Dunning; Mr. Dempster in a qualified sense, Mr. Onely, Mr. Vane, and others, were for the resolutions.

On

On the 17th, lord North informed the house, that he would present the bill for the better regulation of the affairs of the East India company this day. He observed, it would be necessary to discharge the order for the consideration of the East India affairs, which stood for this day, and to postpone the same till to-morrow.

His lordship afterwards entered into the company's propositions which objected to the resolutions which the house had made respecting the loan and agreement with government.

His lordship observed he did not understand the terms upon which they meant to receive the loan: he thought those that had been proposed by parliament not only fair and reasonable, but even ample and munificent. Resolutions (he said) which he thought proper for parliament to come to as guardians of the public interest.

He thought, that the offer made by parliament to give up the whole of the produce of the company's territorial revenues for six years was thoroughly liberal; if it was not, it was difficult to ascertain what was liberal.

He apprehended, the loan by the present management of the company's affairs would be nearly paid off in the year 1778 or 1779. He observed, that a great deal had been said out of doors as well as within; that the restraining the company to six and seven per cent. dividend was considered as a hardship, as not being the true commercial dividend of the company. For his part, (his lordship said) from the deepest attention which he had paid to all that had been said and printed,
that

that seven per cent. was the full commercial profit of the company.

Upon the whole, his lordship clearly proved, that the restrictions under which they were laid, by the late resolutions for their dividend, was highly consistent with the welfare of the company, and the true interest of the public. And, if parliament acted different, they would not have behaved as guardians of the public interests. His lordship observed, that the company had come to parliament as their last resource; that, if they could possibly have found any other relief, they would have adopted it. That parliament in such distress did not, in his opinion, act unkindly towards them. His lordship further observed, that in other instances they reaped no particular favour and protection of government, for then the customs and other duties were due from the company to government; that they had repeatedly applied to the treasury to respite the debt so accrued, and which was accordingly complied with in several instances, to sums to a considerable amount; and as the favour was likely to be continued till the 27th of next month, the debt would then be increased to 200,000l.

His lordship observed, that, upon these and other indulgencies, he might have at least expected a compliance in the company with the terms and resolutions proposed by parliament, in which he trusted there was nothing to be found improper or unfair, and he sincerely wished the company would take another day to consider of them; that, if the company did not then accept of the loan upon the terms proposed, he hoped, that the inconveniencies

inconveniences that might arise would fall only on the life who advised the measure.

His lordship then moved, that the order for this day might be read; and being read, it was discharged, and the consideration of India affairs put off till to-morrow.

The house acquiesced in the noble lord's arguments. No person replied.

A petition was afterwards presented by Mr. Douglas, from the East India company, requesting leave to bring in a bill, conformable to the regulations proposed in the petition, which regulations being numerous, they were not read through, but ordered to lie on the table.

On the 19th, the proceedings of the house were resumed in regard to lord Clive; when general Burgoyne again expatiated largely upon the excesses and extortions used by the commanders and others entrusted with authority in Bengal. That rapine and plunder had even exceeded the bounds of the cruelties of most ages, till at last, it pervaded the British name in every act in which it was concerned. He disclaimed any partial, any limited censure against particular persons; but that the business of his enquiry was first to state the facts, and afterwards come to the conclusion to whom they might be applied. That the resolutions which had passed the other evening had been found fault with, as being too comprehensive and undefined; that for his part he thought that the resolutions had better be extensive than not, as the house would then be at liberty to apply any part of them to particular persons or circumstances; that he laid it down as a fundamental principle and rule, that

it was impossible for any man, acting under the authority of the public, to acquire any thing for himself. That when the resolution is once agreed on, the house will naturally cry out, "Who are the persons, and what are the circumstances?" I hope to be able (continued the general) to bring proof sufficient both to find the fact and charge the person. He observed, that deaths had removed some of these persons out of the way, but that the house would be able to judge what would be done with their effects. That those effects he observed, were now in the possession of innocent men, but this must entirely rest upon the future clemency of the house. He then called the attention of the house to the melancholy history of those times in which the revolution took place. He described the cause of each revolution, and the distress that the nabobs of that country suffered from the unpardonable transactions of the British commanders in India. He laid the chief stress upon the revolution of Meer Jaffer in 1757, and that every other subsequent revolution had been justified upon the same principle and the same ground. He then read part of a treaty made with Surajah Dowlah, in order to prove that the commanders in chief had endeavoured to break through the treaty in every instance, particularly by the attack made on Chandanegore.-----The general afterwards proceeded to inform the house in what manner the consent of the council was obtained for the violation of this treaty, and sincerely lamented the distance of that country, with regard to the company's directions being received by their officers and disobeyed. That the
deter-

Determination of that council composed of lord Clive, major Kilpatrick, Mr. Drake, Mr. Watts, and another, operated by the most single minority, exercising the authority of a majority. By the admirable dexterity of lord Clive, two were determined a majority in five. A mode of calculation hitherto unknown. He desired the house to consider, that, if these decisions were to take place, how easy it was for this nation to lie at the mercy of the whim, the caprice, or ambition of the president and council of Bengal. He observed, that lord Clive had shewn talents of every kind in the cabinet as well as the field. He then informed the house of the different sums of money each revolution cost; and that whenever the commander in chief or council wanted a revolution, they soon discovered the necessity of one. They soon found it necessary to restore Meer Jassier; and though no proof can be immediately produced, that the sums of money as bribes were proposed and received before the revolution in his favour, yet upon the offer being made, they refused the same with these words, "that, when you shall be thoroughly seated on the throne, we shall then be willing to receive your favours."---He then entered into the report that was made after the revolution of Surajah Dowlah, that that which was transmitted to the directors at home was a piece of perfidious, cruel enquiry, not to be equalled by the inquisition of Portugal. He observed, that the letter which contained the above, dated September 30, 1765, disgraces one of the ablest pens that ever was employed, through the virulence with which it was written; that the
total

total sums received in presents from 1757 to 1761 amounted to 2,169,555l. exclusive of the jaghire, that the restitution money was upwards of 3,000,000l.

He observed, that many persons talked much of taking up acquisitions of so long past as sixteen years; but, he apprehended no time, however distant, should discourage an enquiry into robbery, no time too late to punish the offender. He observed, that it had been said abroad, that the company had always been acquainted with the different presents received by lord Clive, and that the respective sums were known to them; that he, for his part, wished to find it so; but, that the only traces which appeared to him were contained in a letter to them from lord Clive, acknowledging that he had made an ample fortune. He doubted not, however, but the various eminent services pleaded by his lordship would be amply rewarded by a generous nation. He then drew a contrast between the different characters of general Lawrence, Sir William Draper, colonel Monson, as not having acquired to themselves large fortunes by their eminent services; and the present esteemed opinion his lordship was in with the world, with regard to the immense acquisitions which he had obtained for his own use. He then spoke much in favour of the impartial conduct of the select committee, and that this business, in which the house was proceeding in, was an act of national justice; and he doubted not, but the whole-world would see, that this house, however vilified and abused without, had in it men whose principles were just, and in whom particles of that vital fire, which ought to inspire

inspire every friend to his country, would still be found, when the justice and discipline of the house demanded it. That he did not wish to plunder or take every thing from those who had rendered eminent services to their country, but, he wished to leave them such rewards as a generous nation ought to give. He told the house, that he supposed a bill for restitution from private estates, who have received money unwarrantably, would be the consequential result of the resolutions, when passed; that this money he proposed to give to the East India company, in discharge of their debts. He observed, that the rewards given by this intended bill would be the same as given at the time the services were performed; and it would be more for the honour of the man to possess a small share of that which he now has, when given as a reward by his country, than the immense wealth which he has unwarrantably acquired; and when restitution is once made, he thought that all odium should cease. He then proceeded to state his motion, relative to the receipt of sixteen lacks of rupees, and the 30,000l. per year jaghire by lord Clive. He read his motion, but did not make it, as Sir Richard Sutton got up, and objected to the mode in which the evidence upon the report had been extorted and forced from lord Clive, in an unusual and improper manner. This created a long debate, or rather conversation, upon a point of order, whether the evidence which general Burgoyne had moved to be read, ought to be admitted by the house as conclusive, the house having had an opportunity of hearing it *viva voce*.

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The solicitor general, Mr. Wedderburne, in favour of lord Clive, argued, " That there were some, indeed many situations, wherein the receipt of presents was justifiable upon every principle of disinterested integrity." In this proposition Mr. Wedderburne was doubtless right; the only question was, Whether the presents received by lord Clive were accepted under such circumstances as could render their receipt perfectly justifiable? Mr. Wedderburne asserted, that they were received under such circumstances; he therefore contended in favour of lord Clive, and largely expatiated upon the obligations the nation owed him.

Mr. Wedderburne then started the following objection: he said, " that for parliament to accuse a man of any species of delinquency, upon the report made by a committee, was to accuse him without competent evidence. He urged many arguments in favour of this position, and particularly referred to the grounds upon which the select and secret committees were instituted; " they were, he said, to examine and enquire into the state of the East India company's affairs; but behold they had stumbled upon certain delinquencies committed by certain supposed delinquents, whom they were now invidiously proposing to have punished."

Lord Clive himself defended his own conduct with some degree of spirit; he said, " that the party at the India house most forward in accusing, had been the most forward in employing him on every affair wherein they now contended he had acted amiss. He recapitulated the many great and trying situations in which he had been placed, and
appealed

appealed to the feelings of every person in the house, whether he could, consistent with his own and the company's welfare, have taken a part different from that he embraced?" His lordship concluded by mentioning the disposition of Surajah Dowlah, and the fictitious treaty drawn up in order to deceive Omichund: "the latter, said his lordship, has been called forgery, and taking it up on this grounds I have said before, [in his examination before the select committee] and I desire the house to take notice I now say again, that, if the whole transaction was to be repeated, I would again act over what the gentlemen are pleased to term forgery or fiction; for so far, continued his lordship, am I from repenting the part I took in that revolution, that I glory in it, as an act every way conformable to my duty as a servant of that company, whose existence was preserved by the very means I am now about to be censured for adopting."

This debate lasted till eleven, and lord Clive's speech met with the general approbation of the whole house, and many members expressed their concern at his lordship's disagreeable situation, and their hearty abhorrence of the unmerited acrimony with which he was treated.

It is very necessary to observe on this occasion, that the doubts respecting the admission of the reports of the select committee as competent evidence, whereon to ground any judicial proceedings of parliament, frustrated the plan of General Burgoyne and his friends. It was impossible to proceed to parliamentary censures, previous to parliament's having determined, that
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the facts which called for such censures were competently proved ; and if one was to frame a judgment of the disposition of the house from the expressions which fell from the lips of that party to whom the smiles or frowns of a minister are equally indifferent ; if, I say, one was to judge of the temper of the house by such rules, it must be confessed, it appeared averse to admitting the reports of the committee, as competent evidence whereon to proceed.

On which side soever a member embarked, the difficulties were insuperable.

Those most inclined to favour Lord Clive ; those who thought the transactions he was about to be censured for were not of an atrocious nature ; such spurned at the evidence offered, not deeming it tantamount to a proof of guilt ; they shewed an abhorrence to the term ‘ criminality,’ and took every occasion to soften the appellation, by the more favourable terms of ‘ policy,’ ‘ critical necessity,’ and ‘ the urgent occasion of the moment.’ A pleasing latitude of interpretation was also readily adopted by this party ; admitting the facts to be stated in the reports, and allowing the competency of the evidence in proof of such facts, were they crimes of that nature as to deserve parliamentary censure ? Did not the occasion justify the expedient ? And was not the expedient, instead of being a proof of villainy in those who adopted it, rather a proof of their extensive discernment and political sagacity ? And ought a man, placed by a series of contingencies, in so critical a situation, that nothing but the expedient adopted could possibly extricate him with life, ought

ought he to be censured for making use of such an expedient? Applying this to the case of Lord Clive, and that deceptious treaty with Omichund, which in other circumstances would have been so culpable as to merit something more than censure; yet, circumstanced as things were, it was an expedient suggested by necessity, and justifiable upon that principle.

There was another party in the house, who seemed to look upon the whole transaction between Omichund and Lord Clive as a trial of skill. Omichund was famed for being the most dexterous villain in Asia, yet an honest Englishman could outwit him at chicanery. Let, therefore, this party seemed to say, 'let the hero sit (as easy as the seat will permit him) in the triumphal car of knavery, for having beaten the prince of villains at his own weapons.'

Even the third party, who surveyed the criminals with every emotion of horror, and wished to have the crimes severely punished; even they could not in justice admit the validity of the evidence. If parliament steps aside to assume the judicial power, can parliament admit evidence inadmissible in our courts of judicature? Parliament is the grand inquest of the nation; could the grand inquest of a county admit the report of men received at second hand from witnesses, when the *viva voce* testimony of these witnesses might with ease be obtained? The greater the charge of criminality, the greater should the circumspction be about the perfect legality and adequate competency of the evidence produced in proof of the charge. The witnesses had been ex-

amined perhaps on only one side of the question, perhaps with a view of discovering proofs of the commission of crimes. Should not these evidences be contrasted with others? Ought they not to undergo a cross examination? And as the whole house became judges in the cause, surely each judge ought to hear the testimony, and determine by circumstances of the veracity of the testifier. How, without this, could a man lay his hand to his heart, and say, that '*in foro conscientiae*,' the culprits stood convicted?

There was also another circumstance which enhanced the difficulty. Lord Clive had made a voluntary confession to the members of the select committee of every minute circumstance relative to the presents received; the revolution effected; and the expedients adopted to effect it. Would he, or any man have made this voluntary confession if he had thought the matters confessed would be hereafter charged against him as crimes? Ought such confession to be admitted? The criminal law determines upon the illegality of such evidence; our courts of judicature disclaim confession as matter of evidence against the party accused: it is ground for enquiry, but none for conviction. Can parliament, then, admit such evidence, even if desirous of convicting? Yet the confession of Lord Clive stands upon the report of the select committee. Ought this to be admitted to be read before the house against himself?

Such was the forcible and variegated light in which the question concerning the incompetency of the evidence was viewed. This is thrown out

to convince the public, that it was not a question of trivial concern, it bore a serious and consequential aspect ; for as national justice cannot too severely punish national delinquents, so the clear, positive, and legal proof adduced in support of the commission of such delinquencies cannot be too nicely sifted into.

The people are now informed of the real grounds upon which the house proceeded ; and the above-mentioned objections to the ‘ admissibility of the report of the select committee as competent evidence ’ gave rise to the motion made by Hans Stanley, and seconded by Mr. Byng, that ‘ Mr. Becher, and several other evidences examined before the select committee, should attend the house the 21st, in order to deliver in their respective evidence at the bar of the house.

Accordingly Richard Becher, William Brightwell Sumner, Charles Manningham, William M’Guire, Esquires, and Captain Brereton, attended to deliver their respective evidences at the bar of the house. Mr. Becher was the first and only evidence called in ; he delivered his testimony with that perspicuity, and spoke to facts with that preciseness, that the house seemed perfectly satisfied as to the truth of those particulars, which Mr. Becher was called upon to prove.

The debates then commenced, and continued with great warmth until ten o’clock, when General Burgoyne proposed the following resolution :

‘ That the Right Hon. Robert Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey, in the kingdom of Ireland, in consequence of the powers vested in him in India, had received, at various times, presents of several
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lacks of rupees, amounting to the sum of "two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds sterling; to the dishonour and detriment of the state."

'Sir William Meredith warmly seconded this resolution, and spoke so as to gain the repeated applauses of the house.

Hans Stanley proposed striking out the word 'detrimental,' and inserting the words 'to the evil example of others.'

This gave rise to fresh debates, and General Burgoyne again arose to defend the words of his resolution; he spoke with manly energy, and pleaded the cause of justice with the dignity of a senator, and the persuasive eloquence of an honest man; he was averse to giving up one tittle he contended for; and, asserting his resolution to be founded on truth, he was inflexibly tenacious of her rights.

Mr. Rose Fuller spoke like what he is, an old, honest, independant veteran of integrity.

Lord North spoke much in favour of General Burgoyne.

The house was left sitting at half after eleven o'clock, and the debates at that hour were expected to continue much longer upon the question, whether Lord Clive received his presents, 'to the detriment of the state, or to the evil example of others,' or whether the resolution should stand simply, 'that he had received such and such presents.'

General Burgoyne declared, 'that, if his resolution passed, he should propose one relative to the noble lord's jaghire.'

Similar

Similar resolutions were expected to pass relative to Messrs. Sumner, Verelst, Leicester, and others.

Previous to the above proceedings, General Burgoyne expressed himself to the following purport :

Mr. Speaker, I must observe, that a principal part of the charge against the noble lord behind me turns, upon the transactions of the select committee, and, for making this charge good, it is absolutely necessary to call in and examine such persons whose situation gave them opportunities of knowing the truth, as plainly appeared by the reports of your committees ; among these, sir, Mr. Becher is one, whose examination is in this light necessary, and who, I should therefore wish, was called in : the points upon which his examination should turn, is the conditions upon which the revolution in Bengal was effected.

[Mr. Becher, after a slight debate, called in.]

Several questions were put to him, and after them the following : ‘ When the revolution in Bengal was resolved to be a measure necessary to the welfare of the company’s affairs by the select committee, did the select committee, after such resolution, declare, that they would not agree to the measure, unless presents were made to them of two and twenty lacks of rupees, or thereabouts, in consequence of it ? ’

Solicitor General. That question, Mr. Speaker, would agree better with the constitution of the Inquisition, than with that of this house : it is impossible it should be put ; because the answer may tend to establish a criminality not in the noble lord only

only, on whose account common sense is so much to be put to the rack, but likewise that of the witness himself. And this in general will be the case with examining witnesses so deeply concerned in the merit of the transactions which are at present judging.

(Witness ordered to withdraw, which he did at four o'clock.)

Attorney General. I cannot subscribe to the opinion laid down by my learned friend; for if we are not to examine the persons who from their situations can alone give us information, and if we are not to ask such questions at the case demands, to what purpose is any enquiry before us?

Solicitor General. The plain fact, and the practice of all the courts with which I have been conversant, is the best answer to that imaginary difficulty: Why ask questions to prove guilt in the noble lord, which, if the answers do prove it, must prove equal guilt in the witness! Why not ask the same questions of witnesses not in responsible offices, who might know these facts, but not be guilty of them?

Sir George Saville. I take this principally to be a question not concerning the eligibility of Mr. Becher to be a witness at all, because we have begun his examination, and there would be much impropriety in then determining that his examination is of no value; but the point which alone demands attention is, whether he shall be asked questions, the answers to which must condemn himself—Now, this is so contrary to law—to reason—to common sense, and the practice of this house,

house, that I am amazed it can be made a matter of debate : the question put to the witness was such a one as ought not to be put ; it was such a one as he could not answer.

[At half an hour after five Mr. Becher was again called in and examined.]

At three in the morning of the 22d, the House of Commons still remained in warm debate on the motion of Colonel Burgoyne.

At length a motion was made, ‘ That the said Robert Lord Clive, in so doing, abused the powers with which he was intrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public.’ It passed in the negative, without a division.

Another motion was then made, ‘ That Robert Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to this country, which was carried without a division.’ Thus ended the great business about Lord Clive, which held till five o’clock this morning,

Lord Clive’s Speech to the House of Commons.

Mr. Speaker,

After rendering my country the services which I think, I may, without any degree of vanity, claim the merit of ; and after having nearly exhausted a life full of employment, for the public welfare, and for the particular and advantageous emolument of the East India company, I little thought transactions of this kind would have agitated

tated the miuds of my countrymen in ſuch proceedings as theſe, tending to deprive me not only of my property, and the fortune which I have fairly acquired, but of that which I hold more dear to me---my Honour and my Reputation. The houſe will not think me, I hope, fraught with any degree of vanity, when I repeat again, that I have done ſervices to my country. I muſt now beg leave to ſay a few words relative to the preſents which I am charged with receiving unwarrantably. I muſt beg leave to obſerve to the houſe, that preſents were allowed and received from the earlieſt time of the direſtion. They have continued to be received uninterruptedly for the ſpace of 150 years; and men, ſir, who have ſat in the direſtion themſelves, have at ſeveral times received preſents. This the direſtion muſt know ; but I am firmly of opinion, that in honourable caſes, preſents are not improper to be received ; but when for diſhonourable purpoſes, then, ſir, I hold them to be highly improper.

In the early period of my life, my labours were without emoluments or laurels, and I hope the houſe cannot think, but that I ought to be rewarded for my ſervices to my country in the latter part of it. When I was employed by the company, their affairs abroad were in a condition much to be lamented. Misfortunes attended them in every part of their ſettlements, and the nabobs looked with a jealous eye upon the ſmall privileges and poſſeſſions they then enjoyed ; and though ſmall, in danger every day of being wreſted from them. Fear, and weakneſs of power, ſought for protection from the dangers that ſurrounded them. In
this

this critical situation I was called forth, and it pleased God to make Me the instrument of their delivery. In the various battles and attacks in which I was employed, I had the good fortune to succeed; nor were such schemes or undertakings entered upon without the previous provocation of the country powers. The treachery of Surajah Dowla was for ever in our eye, and his perfidy was never at rest: nor did we attack Chandanagore till the treaty on his behalf was first violated. After these conquests, fir, and acquisitions gained for the company, I returned home. They approved, in the highest degree, of what I had done; and as a token of their approbation, they presented me with a rich sword set with diamonds. This certainly, fir, was no mark of their opinion that I had either violated treaties, or disobeyed their orders. Nor did their commendation and good opinion of my services terminate here. As soon as troubles broke out in that country, and when the news of the terrible disaster of the taking of Calcutta from us arrived to the ear of the company, they immediately sent to me, and requested that I would go once more to India to protect and secure their possessions;--- that my presence would alone effect it; and they should rest secured, through the good opinion they had of me, that success would accompany me; and that I should be the means of putting their affairs again in a prosperous situation. I did not hesitate a moment to accept the offer. I went abroad, resolving not to benefit myself one single shilling at my return; and I strictly and religiously adhered to it. When I arrived there, I subdued Angria, a very powerful prince. I retook Calcutta with an

inconsiderable army. Surajah Dowla had at all times betrayed a disposition to break the treaty ; and when an army was sent under the command of Monsieur Dupre, which might have proved fatal to us, I do not hesitate to say, that we bribed the general of that army, who immediately wrote to the nabob to let him know that the English were invincible ; and upon a second request from the nabob to Monsieur Dupre, that he would march with his army and destroy the English, his answer was couched in the same terms. He said, that he always found the English invincible, and it would be the height of imprudence to hazard an attack. By such means, and by this stratagem, we succeeded. We soon discovered that the nabob, Surajah Dowlah, was so turbulent and restless, that he only waited for the departure of the fleet to demolish the English. But as treacherous men are too apt to have men of the same cast and disposition about them, the nabob was not wanting of such companions. One Omichund, his confidential servant, as he thought, told his master of an agreement made between the English and Monsieur Dupre, to attack him, and received for that advice a sum no less than four lacks of rupees. Finding this man to be the confidential servant, in whom the nabob entirely trusted, it soon became our object to consider him as a most material engine in the intended revolution. We therefore, made such an agreement as was necessary for the purpose, and entered into a treaty with him to satisfy his demands: When all things were prepared, and the evening of the event was appointed, Omichund informed Mr. Watts, who was at the court of the nabob,

nabob, that he insisted upon thirty licks of rupees, and five per cent. upon all the treasure that was found ; that unless that was immediately complied with, he would disclose the whole to the nabob ; and that Mr. Watts, and the two other English gentlemen then at the court, should be cut off before the morrow. Mr. Watts, immediately on this information, dispatched an express to me at the council. I did not hesitate to find out a stratagem to save the lives of these people.

For this purpose we signed another treaty. The one was called the red, the other the white treaty. This treaty was signed by every one, except admiral Watson ; and I should have considered myself sufficiently authorized to have put his name to it, by the conversation I had with him. As to the person who signed admiral Watson's name to the treaty, whether he did it in his presence, or not, I cannot say, but this I know, that he thought he had sufficient authority for so doing. This treaty was immediately sent to Omichund, who did not suspect the stratagem. The event took place, and success attended it ; and the house, I am fully persuaded, will agree with me, that when the existence of the company was at stake, and the lives of three people so precariously situated, and so certain of being destroyed, that it was a matter of true policy and of justice to deceive so great a villain. I have in my hand, sir, a letter signed by admiral Watson, Messrs. Mordaunt, Watts, &c. which I apprehend will carry admiral Watson's thorough approbation of the proceedings of the revolution, and of the means by which it was obtained

tained. [His lordship then read the letter, which conveyed admiral Watſon's full approbation.]

Now, ſir, great as my fortune is, (and which bears no proportion to what I might have made) yet, to ſhew that I did not harrats, or lay under contribution thoſe whom I had conquered, for my own emolument, I can tell this houſe, that neither I, nor any one in my army, received a fixpence from the inhabitants of Muxadabad. My jaghire was not received till 1759, though it had been reported, I received it at the revolution in 1757. I muſt beg leave to mention, another circumſtance to this houſe; that upon theſe troubles, the Dutch were encouraged by the nabob to enter the country with ſeven ſhips, and a vaſt army. I did not heſitate a moment to give them battle, and in twenty-four hours I deſtroyed every ſhip they had; and their whole army, was either killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. At this time, the Dutch had moſt of my money, and in this inſtance, I think, I ſhewed a zeal for the honour and intereſt of the company, ſuperior to every other object, even of my own concern. I muſt now beg leave, to read to the houſe two letters from the court of directors to myſelf, containing their approbation of the revolution in Bengal. Theſe letters, ſir, came not through the common channel of addreſs to the governor and council, but were directed to myſelf. [His lordſhip then read the letter, which contained indeed the moſt full and ſatisfactory approbation of what is termed in one of the letters "the late glorious and profitable revolution."]—Theſe, ſir, are ſurely ſufficient certificates of my behaviour, and of the proceedings of
that

that revolution; and whatever the house may think of them, will remain an everlasting approbation of my conduct from those persons who alone employed me, and whose servant I was. Nay, sir, there are even those in the grave, who, if they were alive would testify my services. A late minister (lord Chatham) whose abilities have been an honour to his country, and whom this house will ever, revere, will, I am sure, come to your bar, and not only tell you how highly he thought of my services at that time, but also what his opinion is now. I am, however, sure, that I shall have justice done me by the enquiry of those men who are likely to be appointed to go to India to regulate the affairs of that country. Then, sir, may come from that part of the world, a full justification of my conduct. Here I must beg leave to read a part of my late speech. [Here his lordship read a part of a letter and of his late speech, made on the 30th March 1772, stating the acquisitions he had obtained for the company and the public.]---After these services I thought at least I might have enjoyed my fortune uninterrupted, and unenvied by those not so rich as myself. [Here his lordship then read another letter from the company which contained in a stronger manner than any of the preceeding ones, a full and ample commendation and approbation of all his proceedings: this letter was directed to his lordship, and dated the 4th of March 1767.]

Upon my arrival, sir, in England a second time, a committee of the directors waited upon me, to desire to know when I would receive the congratulations of the direction. I accordingly waited upon

upon them at their court in Leadenhall-street ; and the chairman, at a very full court, addressed me in the words contained in this letter (which his lordship read.) 'These, sir, were circumstances certainly that gave me a full satisfaction ; and a ground to think that my conduct, in every instance was approved of. After such certificates as these, sir, am I to be brought here like a criminal, and the very best parts of my conduct contrived into crimes against the state ? Is this the reward that is now held out to persons who have performed such important services to their country ? If it is, sir, the future consequences that will attend the execution of any important trust, committed to the persons who have the care of it, will be fatal indeed ; and I am sure the noble lord upon the Treasury bench, whose great humanity and abilities I rever, would never have consented to the resolutions that passed the other night, if he had thought on the dreadful consequences that would attend them. Sir, I cannot say, that I either sit or rest easy when I find by that extensive resolution, that all I have in the world is confiscated, and that no one will take my security for a shilling. These, sir, are dreadful apprehensions to remain under, and I cannot look upon myself but as a bankrupt. Nothing my own, and totally unable to give any security while these resolutions are pending. Such, sir, is the situation I am in. I have not any thing left which I can call my own, except my paternal fortune of five hundred pounds per annum, and which has been in the family for many ages past. But upon this I am content to live, and perhaps I shall find more real content of mind and happiness, than

than in the trembling affluence of an unsettled fortune. But, sir, I must make one more observation, that if the definition of the honourable gentleman (general Burgoyne) and of this house, is, that the state, as expressed in these resolutions, is, *quæ ad hoc*, the company, then, sir, every farthing that I enjoy is granted to me. But to be called, after sixteen years have elapsed, to account for my conduct in this manner, and after an uninterrupted enjoyment of my property, to have been questioned and considered as obtaining it unwarrantably, is hard indeed ! and a treatment I should not think the British senate capable of. But if it should be the case, I have a conscious innocence within me, that tells me my conduct is irreproachable. *Frangas non flectes.*

‘They may take from me what I have ; they may, as they think, make me poor, but I will be happy ; I mean not this as my defence, though I have done for the present. My defence will be made at the bar ; and before I sit down, I have one request to make to the house, “that when they come to decide upon my honour, they will not forget their own.”

Now that the noble lord had triumphed over all his accusers and enemies in the senate, and secured his immense acquisitions against all the efforts of combined virulence and indignation ; his plan was to finish on the sight of Clermont’s ruins, the new trophy of his taste and sumptuousness, and to make in the house of commons a formidable party, composed of creatures intruded into the legislature, with the engines of corruption and bribery, on condition

condition of passive obedience to the dictates of their leader.

The following is an exact copy of one of his lordship's agent's letters to an intriguing lady of a venal borough in Shropshire, and to a threwd burgher of the same place, with their answers.

Madam,

“ As you have given several proofs of your skill and dexterity in elections, and the influence you have on Mr. S—, and his friends, is well known ; I am commissioned by the right honourable lord —, to solicit your interest in behalf of two friends of his lordship, whom he has designed candidates for your borough. There is no need to tell you, that he has power to serve you and your family, and I dare say, you do not doubt of his inclination to embrace the first opportunity. There will be at the next general election, a full scope for the exertion of your talents, and of his lordship's gratitude, without offending your delicacy. His great estates in the country of Salop, and his great connections in India, will enable him to provide amply for your eldest son, either at home or abroad ; besides some donation you have a right to expect for your trouble and activity. Offers of money, ever so indirect, must be made with caution ; and Mr. I —, who is known to be in another gentleman's interest, must be kept in ignorance of this overture. I do not pretend to direct a lady of your judgment and sagacity ; your former

mer success and management are a sufficient proof of both. I beg the favour of an answer, and am,

Madam, Your's, &c."

P. S. I wrote by the same post to Mr. B——n, your friend. This is the answer.

S I R,

"I am much obliged to you for your compliments, and flattered with your good opinion. Though I have been applied to from a certain quarter, you may easily guess at, with proposals very advantageous to my family, I promise you, to use the little female influence I have over my stubborn husband and his bottle companions, to convert them to the interest of the new candidates recommended by his lordship. They talk of a new penal bill against corruption, from the punishment of which I hope my sex will screen me. I do not doubt of his lordship's power, and the last time I saw him, he expressed a desire to serve my family, which I cannot disbelieve, consistent with his honour and veracity. In regard to myself, I leave that second consideration to his lordship's generosity. I shall act with prudence and caution, though these virtues are not the characteristics of women. I do not despair to gain to our party Mr. P——, though I think proper, as you do, not to acquaint him with the masked batteries which his lordship intends to play, till within the eve of the golden explosion; as he is a vain positive man, who would not have the name of being led by any other wo-

man-but his wife. You will hear soon further from your humble servant,

Catherine —'.

The letter to the burgher was conceived in the following terms,

S I R,

“ Lord — having been informed that your friend did not fulfil his engagements to you and the other constituents of your borough at the last election ; his lordship has directed me to offer his interest for the place you had applied for, if you will renounce your former connections, and support his friends at the next general election. Who they are, you will soon know, provided you engage for them. Though you were of opposite parties, Mr. S—, and you at the late contest, I wish you would now act in concert, as his lady to whom I have wrote by this post, to the same purpose, is amazingly clever in the art of canvassing, and is a compleat mistress of the art of persuasion, if supported by still more convincing arguments. Let me know if you approve of this coalition, which I think must forward our design. She likes, as you know, a little homage and flattering ; no man of sense thinks it beneath him to pass some compliments on a woman, who is pleased to be complimented on her charms and understanding, when he compasses his end, by this insinuation. I shall be with you very soon, and hope to spend with you a chearful evening. I think it is more prudent
not

not to acquaint our friends with my coming, as the knowledge of my arrival may disconcert our measures and set the borough into an uproar. I wish we could gain Mr. P—, but I am afraid, he is so bigotted to what he calls the old cause, that I almost despair of success. A line from you will greatly oblige,

Sir,

Your friend, and humble servant."

To this letter the following answer was returned.

S I R,

"I have perused your letter with great attention, and was I certain lord ---- would not disappoint me as my pretended friend, and fulfil the promise he has authorised you to make, I am circumstanced in such a manner, that I should not hesitate to serve him with the utmost of my power. But I have so often experienced the futility of great men's ostentatious offers, after they have obtained through their constituents, what they wish for, that really I am become an unbeliever. As for using his interest, without doing it effectually, this will not be an acknowledgment adequate to my trouble and my expectations. I shall not engage till I have at least the certainty of an equivalent, in case his lordship does not succeed for the place. As for Mrs. S----, I dare say, I will find no great difficulty in being with her on the same terms as we were before the late contest. I know her perfectly well, and the motives by which she is actuated, which are selfishness and vanity. However, I allow the
may

may be useful, having a great deal of art and address. It is impossible for me to settle any plan of operations before I see you ; the sooner the better ; but I must beg you will tell plainly his lordship, I will not take a single step in the affair, till I have more than words to depend upon. Though my friend has neglected me, I think he would be glad to come around, if I would trust him again. In the mean time, if he complies with my demands, he may be sure I shall carry the election of his friends ; as I have already taken such measures as will baffle all the efforts of my opponents.

I am, Sir, Your humble servant.

R.—B—

These letters indicate sufficiently the means his lordship's agents used to bring into parliament his friends and dependents. Though his speculations were chiefly directed to projects of power and ambition, even the prospect of these desired objects could not divert his melancholy thoughts, nor conquer a dejection of spirits, which a variety of excursions and companies were ineffectual to remove. His lordship had found formerly a transient gratification with demireps ; he was remarkably fond of cards, and took a particular delight in seeing the superb structure which he had erected, gradually fitted up for his reception ; but it seemed as if all his senses had been palled by faction, and *ennui* had besieged all the avenues to pleasure and enjoyment. " What is the matter, (said to him one day Mr. W——n, one of his intimate friends and confidants) you are of late become so pensive, so taciturn, and so absent, that nothing

nothing seems to entertain and amuse you.”
 “ That’s true, (answered his lordship) all worldly grandeur can no longer contribute to my happiness; no pleasures can procure me a momentary satisfaction; no object ever so alluring can tempt and stimulate my desires. I am like a solitary being amidst routs and assemblies, and it seems as if my existence was a burthen. My bad state of health, may make this impression on my mind; I try to overcome this sadness, which I am afraid will become habitual; and if I strive against Nature to be chearful, I soon relapse into my former torpor.” “ You must not (replied his friend) indulge this disposition: go to Bath, or to Spa, there you will find some new objects to recreate and entertain you.” “ I have tried all that to no purpose, (said his lordship) and I have found no more relief in public diversions, than in the prescriptions of my physicians.”

If domestic felicity is the greatest blessing that a man can enjoy in this world, no man was in this respect more fortunate than Lord Clive. His lady, who was a pattern of conjugal affection, with all the endearing accomplishments that could command mutual love, respect, and attention, used all the means which her ingenious solicitude and tenderness suggested her, to amuse, divert, and solace her gloomy lord, in these frequent returns of sadness and dejection. His eldest son, a young gentleman of a promising genius and disposition, was coming to that age, which had engaged his noble father to secure him a seat in the senate; and his second son and daughters answered equally all his desires and his expectations; yet, the comfort

fort he received from a family so generally agreeable and dutiful, could not dispel the heavy clouds hanging upon his brow.

Though the parliamentary enquiry into the noble lord's conduct had not answered the expectations of his adversaries, the retrospect of his lordship's civil and military transactions for twenty years past, had exhibited him to the nation, formerly pre-possessed with high notions of his war-like exploits, and his upright administration in the Bengal provinces, as a man fortunate, not skillful in the field ; as a rapacious oppressor, not a generous conqueror, and a friend to his country ; as a severe despot, not the man, who instead of governing the British subjects and the natives with moderation and equity, had banished, persecuted, and ruined divers brave and experienced officers, and faithful servants of the company. A man of his proud and aspiring spirit, who had swayed over Indostan, deposed and restored sovereigns at pleasure, and been used to the eastern homage of the deified potentates of Asia, to have been reduced to the humiliation of confessing, that he had been forced to use the arts of villainy, to defeat the insidious arts of a villain ; in order to palliate the most nefarious act of perfidy, could not be callous to the universal odium, such a disgraceful apology must have reflected on his character. He now saw himself not only confounded in a free state with the class of his fellow subjects, but even he could not derive, from the favour and indulgence of the legislature, a grain of public allowance for the horrid scenes of cruelties and depredations committed in the peninsula of India under his sanction. These reproaches
daily

daily multiplied in the public prints, and probably a keen remorse of the crimes, suggested by an immoderate ambition, poisoned all his happiness and tranquility.

A man of honour and veracity, who held a respectable commission in the military service of the company, has given me permission to publish the copy of a letter, which he wrote to his lordship some days after he repeated the famous speech, made for him in the House of Commons. It is verbatim transcribed from that copy.

“ My Lord,

“ I forgive errors, but never forgive injuries. Though you have escaped the punishment of deeds, the very report of which could not be made by Colonel Burgoyne, without the strongest marks of abhorrence and indignation, you will remain a blasted monument of the legislature's clemency, instead of having been made an example of its justice. This great inquest of the nation, though not productive of the satisfaction the injured and oppressed had a right to expect, has, however, opened the eyes of the public, and brought down the mighty conqueror of Plattsley, and his confederates, on the level with a gang of free-booters, and lawless speculators. If you claim the protection of your rank against my resentment, you give up the character of an officer, who admits no such futile distinctions, whenever the honour of both parties is concerned. As for applying to the laws of my country for redress, the disparity of your fortune and mine gives me little hopes of such a reparation, as is consistent
with

with my wrongs and my feelings. You have lost your reputation, mine is unfulfilled; yet as a true foldier, who scorns to avail himself of this difference, essential as it is, I seek for revenge in the same manner, as if I had to deal with an honourable aggressor. After this condescension, I think you cannot, without additional shame, refuse to comply with my desires.

Yours, &c."

His lordship did not answer this letter, as the offended party had a right to expect; but it was a new subject of mortification to be challenged and upbraided with such asperity, by an officer who had been dismissed the company's service with circumstances of ignominy, by the express command of the noble ruler of the Bengal provinces.

Indeed, if Lord Clive had been obliged to fight with all his adversaries, and to give satisfaction as a military man to all those whom he had injured and distressed, his nobilitated blood might have often attoned as a sacrifice to their unmerited disasters, and the disgraceful aspersions which his lordship had thrown against men of a spotless honour and unfulfilled character. These reproaches, and the account he had been frequently called to, by many faithful servants of the company, discarded through the illiberal suggestions of the noble lord, whilst invested with the supreme civil and military authority, humiliating as they were, might have in time diminished the sense of their sharpness and acrimony, had not his ambitious designs been continually thwarted by his rivals in opulence and power. The immense sums he lavished in contested elections

tions is almost incredible ; and indeed, one could not easily account for two millions of money reduced to a landed estate, the revenue of which is computed at seventeen thousand pounds per ann. without being well informed that part of this treasure was diverted through the channels of bribery and corruption, to enslave the constituents of rotten boroughs, and form a parliamentary phalanx of his creatures, to act for and against government, as his lordship's private views and interest should direct. The most exact calculation I have heard of his lordship's yearly expences, and of the money he paid for the purchases of his landed estates, will be clearly ascertained. It is generally known, that his lordship was much incumbered before his last voyage to India, which was the principal motive of his soliciting an uncontrolled command over the peninsula of India, which had never been trusted to any governor of the East India company's settlements before him. The knowledge he had acquired of the wealth of the country, and the plan of exactions and monopolies he had formed, could not fail of rendering him the richest subject in Europe, in money and in specie, within the space of two years only, that the noble president remained the real sovereign of Indostan. Indeed, he was candid enough to declare, since his last return home, that his fortune had been made easy, through the favour and confidence of the company. Consequently, he must have reckoned the sum which he brought home the time before, a small reward for his eminent services.

We shall fairly state these enormous sums as follows :

	£.
The golden laurels of Plassey, including the plunder of the déposed nabob, after the revolution in Bengal	700,000
Brought home the second time in cash and jewels	1,400,000
Sum total	<u>2,000,000</u>

The yearly revenue of his lordship's jaghire, which he enjoyed eleven years	30,000
Making in that space of time the sum of	<u>330,000</u>
Sum total	<u>2,330,000</u>

Which sum is thus accounted for.

His lordship's yearly expences reckoned 50,000 l. during eleven years	550,000
Purchases of landed estates	600,000
Buildings, repairs, and improvements	300,000
Elections	50,000
Lawyer's fees and suits	60,000
Spent before his last voyage to India, in extravagance and elections	700,000
Sum total	<u>2,260,000</u>
Remains unaccounted for	<u>60,000</u>

His

His lordship's ambition was of late chiefly directed towards the sway which he endeavoured to obtain in the county of Salop, his native country ; and the borough of Shrewsbury, which he intended to make his property, in excluding whomsoever should presume to solicit the votes of the constituents, without his nomination, was the place where centered the skilful manœuvres of his indefatigable agents. Unfortunately for the noble lord, a gentleman of great property, and different principles, watched with assiduous attention over the independency of part of the electors, and resolved to try the issue of a contested election against his opponent, and to beat him on his own ground. This unforeseen attack, though considered as a daring intrusion by his lordship, added much to the natural perturbation of his mind, as he was sensible his antagonist was formidable and spirited, consequently not likely to relinquish his claims, as he had nothing to hope or fear from the benevolence or resentment of Lord Clive. Another consideration which chagrined his lordship, was, the probability of undermining an interest which he had established with great trouble and expences, and if once taken from him, might perhas never be recovered by himself, or his posterity. This contest, which was afterwards carried on, on both sides with reciprocal spirit and perseverance, gave occasion to the following dialogue betwixt one of his lordship's agents and an attorney of Shrewsbury.

Agent,

Agent. I am commissioned to wait upon you, sir, with lord Clive's compliments, who expects you will support his interest at the next general election with the same spirit and activity as you did formerly, especially as his lordship fulfilled his promises to his honour and your advantage.

Attorney. I suppose his lordship does not think the last, just rewards for my services binding at all future elections, and if my lord expects I will exert my influence over my friends in his behalf, surely he means to pay me in return a proper compliment. All obligations on either side are cancelled, as it was nothing but a reciprocity of good offices : we must have a new contract, since experience has taught me never to depend on the mere assurances and professed good intentions, especially from great men, who think a little place once obtained through their favour, can never be sufficiently acknowledged, by the person who has got it.

Agent. Indeed, I have no instructions from his lordship to make you any other offers, but the continuation of his friendship. I believe, you may rely on his generosity, as he is known to be an excellent pay-master to all the managers of elections, employed by his particular desire. A trifle will not stop him in his career, and he commonly carries his point *coute que coute*

Attorney. All this will not do for me ; his lordship has now an opponent equally formidable by his wealth and power ; if I serve him, I am certain he will be a great friend to me and my family, I cannot give up the acquisition of such a client, with-

without being munificently rewarded for such a sacrifice.

The consultation ended here, and the lawyer who was suspected of double dealing, lost his ancient patron, and could not insinuate himself into the good graces of the new candidate.

Though his lordship was returned the sitting member, so many circumstances of the unfair and illegal means he had used to gain a majority of votes, were to be stated by his opponent, resolved to petition the house, that lord Clive despairing to maintain a seat in the legislature, for which several of the constituents had bartered their birth-right ; with the apprehensions of being again exposed in the face of the senate, before whom his public conduct had been of late so severely arraigned, could not bear the idea of a new parliamentary enquiry, which he was sensible must prove disgraceful to him, and declare him unduly elected for the very borough, surrounded with his estates and dependents. Effectively the decision of the committee appointed by the house of commons, who declared after his lordship's death, the petitioner the legal member, proved that his fears were well grounded. Ever since his lordship was convinced that his competitor must triumph at last, in this contest ; he grew still more sullen and melancholy than before. The society of his most intimate friends could not force even a smile from his dejected countenance : even at times he indulged his gloomy ideas to that point, that he did shun his own family. With this depression of mind, his health growing daily more impaired, he sunk under the weight of these complicated afflictions. His lordship was persuaded by
his

his physicians to go to Bath, in hopes that he would find some relief from his bodily infirmities, and some amusement in the public rooms; but he tried in vain, this last resource: formerly whist was his favourite game, but his lordship's absence and inattention could not escape the observations of his partners, who attributing their joint loss to his gross mistakes, gave him a disgust for their company, and the gaming table. Having found more and more by pains which he deemed incurable, and impatient to be released by any means whatsoever of this unrelenting despondency, his lordship returned to London in great haste, and came unexpected to his house in Berkley-Square, in a seeming agony of body and mind. He sent immediately for his physicians, and having consulted two separately, without hopes of immediate relief from their art; he inveighed bitterly against their skill which he called quackery and imposition. Thus destitute of all human comfort, and having lost all desires for worldly enjoyments, he retired to a distant apartment, where having wrote three letters, one directed to a great lawyer, the other to a director of the East India company, and the third to a certain opulent upstart; all of them paid him a visit; the first immediately after the reception of his lordship's letter, with whom he had a private consultation which lasted about two hours. The other two persons, who had been of his lordship's secret councils in India, came afterwards, and after some discourse proposed to send for a fourth person who lived near Berkeley-Square, to amuse his lordship with a party at whist, with which proposal he complied with great seeming reluctance, by dint of entreaties.

Howe-

However he played but two games, after which his friends took their leave on account of the visible agitation and perplexity of his mind. As soon as they were gone, he threw himself on a sofa, where he remained till near twelve o'clock, having previously declared to his lady that he wished to be alone. However, her ladyship growing uneasy, she entered the room, and tried to persuade him to eat something before he went to bed. He drank a glass of wine and water, and said, he dreaded to go to bed, as he was certain to find there neither rest nor comfort ; he at last yielded to his lady's intreaties, and retired to his bed-chamber ; the servant who undressed him and laid in an anti-chamber adjacent to his lordship's room, heard him breathing all night in pain and agony. On the last fatal day December, of his unhappy existence on this planatory world, his lordship got up at his usual hour, which was about nine o'clock in the winter, and having walked in his night gown, from one apartment to the other with visible marks of a great perturbation of mind ; sometimes absorbed in meditation, at other intervals opening a chest of drawers and looking at divers bundles of papers, till about eleven o'clock, that his lordship drank a dish of tea without taking any other food more substantial. Betwixt twelve and one o'clock he received another visit from the great lawyer his friend and counsellor, and remained alone an hour in close conversation with him. When he was left alone, he continued in the same agitation, as some of his servants observed when he rang the bell to give orders, which he countermanded in an instant afterwards. During this time his lordship's coach

was

was waiting for him at his door, according to his direction; it was then near three o'clock; his valet-de-chambre was waiting to dress his master, who had retired into his water-closet with a sharp razor found afterwards laying on the ground by him.

As none but the supreme searcher of the hearts can judge of the motives of human actions committed in privacy, we do not presume to ascertain whether it was a fit of insanity or through hurry and inexperience in the art of shaving himself, that he unfortunately cut the jugular vein. His fall was heard, and he was found weltering in his blood, without symptoms of life. Shocked as the first discoverer of this tragedy was, at the horrid sight, he had the prudence to dispatch one of the servants to one of his lordship's physicians, as by his master's orders.

The doctor, equally amazed and terrified at the exhibition of the lifeless corpse, said, His lordship wants now an undertaker, not a physician; and, after a few questions relating to the circumstances which preceded this catastrophe, he retired. The house being all in an uproar and consternation, it was impossible to conceal this fatal deed from the family: how it was contrived to avoid the disgraceful inquisition of the coroner, and how further proceedings were stopped, in regard to this unhappy affair, is too delicate and nice point for me to discuss. When the undertaker came to put the corpse into the coffin, he was reprimanded for his curious inspection. His lordship's remains were carried in great privacy, and deposited in the family vault at Landover,
near

near Shrewsbury. His lordship had disposed by will of his real and personal estates in the following manner : to his eldest son, the present Lord Clive, member of parliament for — in Shropshire, seventeen thousand pounds a year in landed estates, besides the overplus arising from his lordship's jagheer, after having paid two thousand pounds a year to Lady Clive, with the enjoyment, during her ladyship's life, of Walcot, near Bishop's Castle, for her country residence ; thirty thousand pounds to each of his two daughters, and six thousand a year to his youngest son, besides considerable legacies to several of his friends and dependants.

If the reader thinks we have animadverted too severely on his lordship's military character and public transactions, the records of the House of Commons, and the report of Colonel Burgoyne, chairman of the committee of enquiry into the East-India affairs, will show, that we have been actuated neither by rancour, nor prejudice. We are sorry, that in such a complication of matters, which did not come to hand in a proper time to be placed in a regular order, according to the dates ; divers repetitions occur in the course of the Narrative, which is not perhaps so well connected that in a work less voluminous, in which the thread is not interrupted by a multiplicity of transactions, letters, and memorials, which could not be omitted consistently with our promise of giving a full information of the India affairs, in a retrospect of twenty years. We can say, with truth, that, notwithstanding the illiberal and unprecedented criticism of this perform-

ance, after the publication of the first volume, it is fuller of matter and implication, and infinitely cheaper than all the books published of late years on India affairs; and whoever resides in that country, or has any connection at home or abroad with the company, will be sensible of its utility.

We cannot conclude without acknowledging, that lord Clive had acquired a thorough knowledge of the genius, manners, laws, customs, and religions, of the Gentoes, and the Mahometan usurpers, their oppressors, having observed with the minutest attention the radical vices of their government, the weak proofs of their power, and the advantages of the European military discipline, in overturning this superstructure, the East-India company, who had delegated the supreme, civil, judicial, and military power, to his lordship, in the extensive dominions of Bengal, might have tempted any other man of the same wealth and influence, to make himself an independent sovereign of part of the rich peninsula of India, assisted by the mogul and the nabobs, who had conceived the highest opinion of his lordship's abilities, and were restored by his authority to their respective dominions. This is an instance of his lordship's moderation, which does not seem so consistent with his ambitious views.

A
G L O S S A R Y

E X P L A I N I N G

Such of the PERSIC and INDIAN

W O R D S

As are commonly used in the

EAST INDIA SETTLEMENTS.

ANNÆ, the sixteenth part of a roupée.

Aazee, an address to the king, so called from the two initial words always used in such an address.

Affammee, a dependent; or any person on whom a claim is made.

Ameen, or *Aneen*, a supervisor; a person employed to examine and regulate any business.

Aumil, an officer of the revenues.

Aurur, a place where goods are manufactured, or produced for sale.

Ban, an intoxicating juice of a vegetable.

Banyan, a Gentoo servant, employed in the management of commercial affairs.

Batta,

Batta, an extraordinary allowance to the army when abroad in the field, or in any country where garrison provisions are scarce.

Bazar, a daily market.

Betel, a leaf, used by the Indians in the manner of tobacco.

Bramin, a priest.

Buckshee, treasurer to the mogul.

Bunder, a custom-house.

Buxy, a pay-master.

Calarrce, a salt-work.

Caoun, sixteen puns of cowries, equal to nearly eight-pence of English money.

Chiman, fine flacked lime.

Chokey, a guard ; also a place appointed for the receipt of customs.

Chokeydar, the officer of a guard.

Chop, a small seal, on which is engraved the name of the mogul, and the year of the hegira.

Choultry, an open house for all travellers, the same as the Turkish caravanserai.

Chout, properly a fourth, but commonly used to express the tribute which the Marattas claim, and raise on all the governments in India.

Chubdar, an attendant, whose office is to carry messages, and to proclaim the approach of visitors, &c.

Circar, a general name for the government, or persons concerned in the administration.

Coffrees, is now become the general name for all Negroes which are brought to India from the Cape, the Coast of Guinea, or any other part of Africa.

Colonies,

Colleries, inhabitants of the woods under the government of the Polygars.

Cooley, a labourer of any kind.

Cofs, a little more than two miles.

Cowle, a protection.

Cowrie, a shell which passes for money in the province of Bengal, the 160th part of a penny.

Cutwal, an inferior officer of the police, whose business is to try and decide petty misdemeanors within a certain district.

Dandee, a waterman, or rower.

Delol, a broker.

Dewan, the second officer in the province, whose business is to superintend the lands and collections. Also the stewards of any man of rank.

Dooley, a woman's chair, somewhat like a sedan.

Durbar, the court of a Mogul prince, or place where they meet in council.

Dustuck, an order, or ordinance.

Firmar, or *Pbirmaund*, a patent, or paper signed by the mogul.

Gentoo, or *Zentoo*, Indians, idolators.

Gomastab, an agent, or factor.

Gunge, a wholesome market, principally for grain.

Hant, a market on stated days.

Hazarree, a commander of gummen, literally a commander of a thousand.

Hegyra, the Mahometan æra.

Jageer, or *jaghire*, a territory of domain granted for a particular use, either to maintain a number of troops, or keep a fort in repair, and sometimes a pension.

Jemindar,

Jemidar, or *Zemidar*, officers of horse or foot, and sometimes people of rank employed about the persons of the great.

Killidar, a governor of a fort.

Lack, of rupees, about 12,500l.

Mauud, a variable weight; at Bengal 76lb. at Surat 37½lb. in Persia the Taberese mauud is only six pounds.

Mohr, or gold Mhor, a gold coin, worth from 12 to 15 rupees.

Moonshce, a secretary for the Persian language.

Moors, the Mahometants, improperly so called.

Nabob, (properly nawab, being the plural of naib) a title given to every person of noble rank. By pre-eminence it is generally used to signify the Nazim.

Naib, a deputy.

Nazim, the first officer of a province, in whose hand the executive power is lodged. He is usually, for distinction, styled the nabob.

Omrals, Privy-counsellors; men of the first rank in the empire.

Paddy, rice in the husk.

Pagoda, an Indian temple.

Pagoda, a coin paid by the company at eight shillings, but intrinsically worth seven shillings and eight-pence.

Palankeen, a bed, supported by a wooden or ivory frame of six feet long, and near three feet broad, fastened at each end with cross sticks to a bamboo fifteen feet long, which forms an arch over the palankeen, or bed, and is covered with a canopy of cloth.

Paragana,

- Paragana*, any district of country.
Parfecs, worshippers of fire.
Patamar, a post or messenger, sent from place to place.
Peons, a name for the infantry of the deckan.
Peltah, the town surrounding an Indian fort.
Phousilar, a renter.
Polygar, lord of a small territory.
Pun, eighty cowries, of the value of about an halfpenny.
Raja, the highest title of the Gentoo princes.
Rissa la, an independent corps of horse.
Rupce, about 2 s. 5 d.
Saneds, commissions, or grants for particular countries.
Sardar, an officer of horse.
Seapry, Indian foldiers, which are entertained and disciplined by Europeans.
Shah, the king, or emperor.
Shahzada, a prince, or son of a king. Any person of royal extraction.
Shroff, a money-changer, or banker.
Sicca, a coin, commonly used to signify the rupee of the Bengal mints.
Sircar, the tatte.
Sarpah, a rich dress.
Sorkha, viceroy of one or two great provinces.
Tank, a pond, or pool of water.
Tanks, the revenue appropriated by the mogul for the maintenance of a fleet at Surat.
Tom, toms, drums.

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Topasses, black foot soldiers, descended from Portuguese marrying natives, called topasses because they wear hats.

Vakeel, an agent or minister for the Moors.

Yessawell, a state messenger.



